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OF
SCOTLAND.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Isabella Hamilton

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By Dr. Samuel Johnson

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WESTERN ISLANDS

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I HAD deſired to viſit the HEBRIDES, or Weſtern Iſlands of Scotland, ſo long, that I ſcarcely remember how the wiſh was originally excited; and was in the Autumn of the year 1773 induced to undertake the journey, by finding in Mr Boſwell a companion, whoſe acuteneſs would help my inquiry, and whoſe gaiety of converſation and civility of manners are ſufficient to counteract the inconveniences of travel, in countries leſs hoſpitable than we have paſſed.

On the eighteenth of Auguſt we left Edinburgh, a city too well known to admit deſcription, and directed our courſe northward, along the eaſtern coaſt of Scotland, accompanied the firſt day by another gentleman, who could ſtay with us only

A long

long enough to ſhew us how much we loſt at ſeparation.

As we croſſed the FRITH of FORTH, our curioſity was attracted by INCH KEITH, a ſmall iſland, which neither of my companions had ever viſited, though, lying within their view, it had all their lives ſolicited their notice. Here, by climbing with ſome difficulty over ſhattered crags, we made the firſt experiment of unfrequented coaſts. Inch Keith is nothing more than a rock covered with a thin layer of earth, not wholly bare of graſs, and very fertile of thiſtles. A ſmall herd of cows grazes annually upon it in the ſummer. It ſeems never to have afforded to man or beaſt a permanent habitation.

We found only the ruins of a ſmall fort, not ſo injured by time but that it might be eaſily reſtored to its former ſtate. It ſeems never to have been intended as a place of ſtrength, nor was built to endure a ſiege, but merely to afford cover to a few ſoldiers, who perhaps had the charge of a battery, or were ſtationed to give ſignals of approaching danger. There is therefore no proviſion of water within the walls, though the ſpring is ſo near, that it might have been eaſily encloſed. One of the ſtones had this inſcription: "Maria Reg. 1564." It has probably been neglected from the time that the whole iſland had the ſame king.

We left this little iſland with our thoughts employed a while on the different appearance that it would have made, if it had been placed at the ſame diſtance from London, with the ſame facility of approach; with what emulation of price a few rocky acres would have been purchaſed, and with what expenſive induſtry they would have been cultivated and adorned.

When we landed, we found our chaiſe ready, and paſſed through KINGHORN, KIRKALDY, and COWPAR, places not unlike the ſmall or ſtraggling market-towns in England, where commerce and manufactures have not yet produced opulence.

Though we were yet in the moſt populous part of Scotland, and at ſo ſmall a diſtance from the capital, we met few paſſengers.

The roads are neither rough nor dirty; and it affords a ſouthern ſtranger a new kind of pleaſure to travel ſo commodiouſly without the interruption of toll-gates. Where the bottom is rocky, as it ſeems commonly to be in Scotland, a ſmooth way is made indeed with great labour, but it never wants repairs; and in thoſe parts where adventitious materials are neceſſary, the ground once conſolidated is rarely broken; for the inland commerce is not great, nor are heavy commodities often tranſported otherwiſe than by water. The carriages in common uſe are ſmall carts, drawn each by one little horſe; and a man ſeems to derive ſome degree of dignity and importance from the reputation of poſſeſſing a two-horſe cart.

St ANDREWS.

At an hour ſomewhat late we came to St Andrews, a city once archiepiſcopal; where that univerſity ſtill ſubſiſts in which philoſophy was formerly taught by Buchanan, whoſe name has as fair a claim to immortality as can be conferred by modern latinity, and perhaps a fairer than the inſtability of vernacular languages admits.

We found, that by the interpoſition of ſome inviſible friend, lodgings had been provided for us at the houſe of one of the profeſſors, whoſe eaſy civility quickly made us forget that we were ſtrangers; and in the whole time of our ſtay we were gratified by every mode of kindneſs, and entertained with all the elegance of lettered hoſpitality.

In the morning we roſe to perambulate a city, which only hiſtory ſhews to have once flouriſhed, and ſurveyed the ruins of ancient magnificence, of which even the ruins cannot long be viſible, unleſs ſome care be taken to preſerve them; and where is the pleaſure of preſerving ſuch mournful memorials? They have been till very lately ſo much neglected, that every man carried away the ſtones who fancied that he wanted them.

The Cathedral, of which the foundations may be ſtill traced, and a ſmall part of the wall is ſtanding, appears to have been a ſpacious and majeſtic building, not unſuitable to the primacy of the kingdom. Of the architecture, the poor remains can hardly exhibit, even to an artiſt, a ſufficient ſpecimen. It was demoliſhed, as is well known, in the tumult and violence of Knox's reformation.

Not far from the cathedral, on the margin of the water, ſtands a fragment of the caſtle, in which the archbiſhop anciently reſided. It was never very large, and was built with more attention to ſecurity than pleaſure. Cardinal Beatoun is ſaid to have had workmen employed in improving its fortifications at the time when he was murdered by the ruffians of reformation, in the manner of which Knox has given what he himſelf calls a merry narrative.

The change of religion in Scotland, eager and vehement as it was, raiſed an epidemical enthuſiaſm, compounded of ſullen ſcrupulouſneſs and warlike ferocity, which, in a people whom idleneſs reſigned to their own thoughts, and who converſing only with each other, ſuffered no dilution of their zeal from the gradual influx of new opinions, was long tranſmitted in its full ſtrength from the old to the young, but by trade and intercourſe with England, is now viſibly abating, and giving way too faſt to their laxity of practice and indifference of opinion, in which men, not ſufficiently inſtructed to find the middle point, too eaſily ſhelter themſelves from rigour and conſtraint.

The city of St Andrews, when it had loſt its archiepiſcopal pre-eminence, gradually decayed: One of its ſtreets is now loſt; and in thoſe that remain, there is the ſilence and ſolitude of inactive indigence and gloomy depopulation.

The univerſity, within a few years, conſiſted of three colleges, but is now reduced to two; the college of St Leonard being lately diſſolved by the ſale of its buildings and the appropriation of its revenues to the profeſſors of the two others. The chapel of the alienated college is yet ſtanding, a fabrick not inelegant, of external ſtructure; but I was always, by ſome civil excuſe, hindered from entering it. A decent attempt, as I was ſince told, has been made to convert it into a kind of greenhouſe, by planting its area with ſhrubs. This new method of gardening is unſucceſsful; the plants do not hitherto proſper. To what uſe it will next be put I have no pleaſure in conjecturing. It is ſomething that its preſent ſtate is at leaſt not oſtentatiouſly diſplayed. Where there is yet ſhame, there may in time be virtue.

The diſſolution of St Leonard's College was doubtleſs neceſſary, but of that neceſſity there is reaſon to complain. It is ſurely not without juſt reproach, that a nation, of which the commerce is hourly extending, and the wealth increaſing, denies any participation of its proſperity to its literary ſocieties; and while its merchants or its nobles are raiſing palaces, ſuffers its univerſities to moulder into duſt.

Of the two colleges yet ſtanding, one is by the inſtitution of its founder appropriated to divinity.

It is ſaid to be capable of containing fifty ſtudents; but more than one muſt occupy a chamber. The library, which is of late erection, is not very ſpacious, but elegant and luminous.

The doctor, by whom it was ſhewn, hoped to irritate or ſubdue my Engliſh vanity, by telling me, that we had no ſuc hrepoſitory of books in England.

Saint Andrews ſeems to be a place eminently adapted to ſtudy and education, being ſituated in a populous, yet a cheap country, and expoſing the minds and manners of young men neither to the levity and diſſoluteneſs of a capital city, nor to the groſs luxury of a town of commerce, places naturally unpropitious to learning; in one, the deſire of knowledge eaſily gives way to the love of pleaſure, and in the other, is in danger of yielding to the love of money.

The ſtudents however are repreſented as at this time not exceeding a hundred. Perhaps it may be ſome obſtruction to their increaſe that there is no epiſcopal chapel in the place. I ſaw no reaſon for imputing their paucity to the preſent profeſſors; nor can the expence of an academical education be very reaſonably objected. A ſtudent of the higheſt claſs may keep his annual ſeſſion, or, as the Engliſh call it, his term, which laſts ſeven months, for about fifteen pounds, and one of lower rank for leſs than ten; in which, board, lodging, and inſtruction, are all included.

The chief magiſtrate reſident in the univerſity, anſwering to our vice-chancellor, and to the *rector magnificus* on the continent, had commonly the title of Lord Rector; but being addreſſed only as Mr Rector in an inauguratory ſpeech by the preſent chancellor, he has fallen from his former dignity of ſtyle. Lordſhip was very liberally annexed by our anceſtors to any ſtation or character of dignity: They ſaid, the Lord General, and Lord Ambaſſador; ſo we ſtill ſay, my Lord, to the judge upon the circuit, and yet retain in our Liturgy the Lords of the Council.

In walking among the ruins of religious buildings, we came to two vaults, over which had formerly ſtood the houſe of the ſub-prior. One of the vaults was inhabited by an old woman, who claimed the right of abode there, as the widow of a man whoſe anceſtors had poſſeſſed the ſame gloomy manſion for no leſs than four generations. The right, however it began, was conſidered as eſtabliſhed by legal preſcription, and the old woman lives undiſturbed. She thinks, however, that ſhe has a claim to ſomething more than ſufferance; for, as her huſband's name was Bruce, ſhe is allied to royalty, and told Mr Boſwell, that when there were perſons of quality in the place, ſhe was diſtinguiſhed by ſome notice; that indeed ſhe is now neglected, but ſhe ſpins a thread, has the company of her cat, and is troubleſome to nobody.

Having now ſeen whatever this ancient city offered to our curioſity, we left it with good wiſhes, having reaſon to be highly pleaſed with the attention that was paid us. But whoever ſurveys the world muſt ſee many things that give him pain. The kindneſs of the Profeſſors did not contribute to abate the uneaſy remembrance of an univerſity declining, a college alienated, and a church profaned and haſtening to the ground

St Andrews indeed has formerly ſuffered more atrocious ravages and more extenſive deſtruction, but recent evils affect with greater force. We were reconciled to the ſight of archiepiſcopal ruins. The diſtance of a calamity from the preſent time ſeems to preclude the mind from contact or ſympathy. Events long paſt are barely known; they are not conſidered. We read with as little emotion the violence of Knox and his followers, as the irruptions of Alaric and the Goths. Had the univerſity been deſtroyed two centuries ago, we ſhould not have regretted it; but to ſee it pining in decay, and ſtruggling for life, fills the mind with mournful images and ineffectual wiſhes.

ABERBROTHICK.

As we knew ſorrow and wiſhes to be vain, it was now our buſineſs to mind our way. The roads of Scotland afford little diverſion to the traveller, who ſeldom ſees himſelf either encountered or overtaken, and who has nothing to contemplate but grounds that have no viſible boundaries, or are ſeparated by walls of looſe ſtone. From the bank of the Tweed to St Andrews I had never ſeen a ſingle tree, which I did not believe to have grown up far within the preſent century. Now and then about a gentleman's houſe ſtands a ſmall plantation, which in Scotch is called a *policy*, but of theſe there are few, and thoſe few all very young. The variety of ſun and ſhade is here utterly unknown. There is no tree for either ſhelter or timber. The oak and the thorn is equally a ſtranger, and the whole country is extended in uniform nakedneſs, except that in the road between Kirkaldy and Cowpar, I paſſed for a few yards between two hedges. A tree might be a ſhow in Scotland as a horſe in Venice. At St Andrews Mr Boſwell found only one, and recommended it to my notice; I told him that it was rough and low, or looked as if I thought ſo. This, ſaid he, is nothing to another a few miles off. I was ſtill leſs delighted to hear that another tree was not to be ſeen nearer. Nay, ſaid a gentleman that ſtood by, I know but of this and that tree in the country.

The Lowlands of Scotland had once undoubtedly an equal portion of woods with other countries. Foreſts are every where gradually diminiſhed, as architecture and cultivation prevail by the increaſe of people and the introduction of arts. But I believe few regions have been denuded like this, where many centuries muſt have paſſed in waſte without the leaſt thought of future ſupply. Davies obſerves in his account of Ireland, that no Iriſhman had ever planted an orchard. For that negligence ſome excuſe might be drawn from an unſettled ſtate of life, and the inſtability of property; but in Scotland poſſeſſion has long been ſecure, and inheritance regular, yet it may be doubted whether before the Union any man between Edinburgh and England had ever ſet a tree.

Of this improvidence no other account can be given than that it probably began in times of tumult, and continued becauſe it had begun. Eſtabliſhed cuſtom is not eaſily broken, till ſome great event ſhakes the whole ſyſtem of things, and life ſeems to recommence upon new principles. That before the Union the Scots had little trade and little money, is no valid apology; for plantation is the leaſt expenſive of all methods of improvement. To drop a ſeed into the ground can coſt nothing, and the trouble is not great of protecting the young plant till it is out of danger; though it muſt be allowed to have ſome difficulty in places like theſe, where they have neither wood for paliſades, nor thorns for hedges.

Our way was over the Frith of Tay, where, tho' the water was not wide, we paid four ſhillings for ferrying the chaiſe. In Scotland the neceſſaries of life are eaſily procured, but ſuperfluities and elegancies are of the ſame price at leaſt as in England, and therefore may be conſidered as much dearer.

We ſtopped a while at Dundee, where I remember nothing remarkable, and mounting our chaiſe again, came about the cloſe of the day to Aberbrothick.

The monaſtery of Aberbrothick is of great renown in the hiſtory of Scotland. Its ruins afford ample teſtimony of its ancient magnificence: Its extent might, I ſuppoſe, eaſily be found by following the walls among the graſs and weeds, and its height is known by ſome parts yet ſtanding. The arch of one of the gates is entire, and of another only ſo far dilapidated as to diverſify the appearance. A ſquare apartment of great loftineſs is yet ſtanding, its uſe I could not conjecture, as its elevation was very diſproportionate to its area. Two corner towers particularly attracted our attention. Mr Boſwell, whoſe inquiſitiveneſs is ſeconded by great activity, ſcrambled in at a high window, but found the ſtairs within broken, and could not reach the top. Of the other tower we were told that the inhabitants ſometimes climbed it, but we did not immediately diſcern the entrance, and as the night was gathering upon us, thought proper to deſiſt. Men ſkilled in architecture might do what we did not attempt: They might probably form an exact ground-plot of this venerable edifice. They may from ſome parts yet ſtanding conjecture its general form, and perhaps by comparing it with other buildings of the ſame kind, and the ſame age, attain an idea very near to truth. I ſhould ſcarcely have regretted my journey, had it afforded nothing more than a ſight of Aberbrothick.

MONTROSE.

Leaving theſe fragments of magnificence, we travelled on to Montroſe, which we ſurveyed in the morning, and found it well built, airy, and clean. The town-houſe is an handſome fabric with a portico. We then went to view the Engliſh chapel, and found a ſmall church, clean to a degree unknown in any other part of Scotland, with commodious galleries, and, what was yet leſs expected, with an organ.

At our inn we did not find a reception ſuch as we thought proportionate to the commercial opulence of the place; but Mr Boſwell deſired me to obſerve that the inn-keeper was an Engliſhman, and I then defended him as well as I could.

When I had proceeded thus far, I had opportunities of obſerving what I had never heard, that there are many beggars in Scotland. In Edinburgh the proportion is, I think, not leſs than in London, and in the ſmaller places it is far greater than in Engliſh towns of the ſame extent. It muſt, however, be allowed that they are not importunate, nor clamorous. They ſolicit ſilently, or very modeſtly, and therefore though their behaviour may ſtrike with more force the heart of a ſtranger, they are certainly in danger of miſſing the attention of their countrymen. Novelty has always ſome power, an unaccuſtomed mode of begging excites an unaccuſtomed degree of pity. But the force of novelty is by its own nature ſoon at an end; the efficacy of outcry and perſeverence is permanent and certain.

The road from Montroſe exhibited a continuation of the ſame appearances. The country is ſtill naked, the hedges are of ſtone, and the fields ſo generally plowed, that it is hard to imagine where graſs is found for the horſes that till them. The harveſt, which was almoſt ripe, appeared very plentiful.

Early in the afternoon Mr Boſwell obſerved that we were at no great diſtance from the houſe of Lord Monboddo. The magnetiſm of his converſation eaſily drew us out of our way, and the entertainment which we received would have been a ſufficient recompenſe for a much greater deviation.

The roads beyond Edinburgh, as they are leſs frequented, muſt be expected to grow gradually rougher; but they were hitherto by no means incommodious. We travelled on with the gentle pace of a Scotch driver, who having no rivals in expedition, neither gives himſelf nor his horſes unneceſſary trouble. We did not affect the impatience we did not feel, but were ſatisfied with the company of each other, as well riding in the chaiſe, as ſitting at an inn. The night and the day are equally ſolitary and equally ſafe; for where there are ſo few travellers, why ſhould there be robbers?

ABERDEEN.

We came ſomewhat late to Aberdeen, and found the inn ſo full, that we had ſome difficulty in obtaining admiſſion, till Mr Boſwell made himſelf known: His name overpowered all objection, and we found a very good houſe, and civil treatment.

I received the next day a very kind letter from Sir Alexander Gordon, whom I had formerly known in London, and after a ceſſation of all intercourſe for near twenty years met here profeſſor of phyſic in the King's College. Such unexpected renewals of acquaintance may be numbered among the moſt pleaſing incidents of life.

The knowledge of one profeſſor ſoon procured me the notice of the reſt, and I did not want any token of regard, being conducted wherever there was any thing which I deſired to ſee, and entertained at once with the novelty of the place, and the kindneſs of communication.

To write of the cities of our own iſland with the ſolemnity of geographical deſcription, as if we had been caſt upon a newly-diſcovered coaſt, has the appearance of very frivolous oſtentation; yet as Scotland is little known to the greater part of thoſe who may read theſe obſervations, it is not ſuperfluous to relate, that under the name of Aberdeen are compriſed two towns, ſtanding about a mile diſtant from each other, but governed, I think, by the ſame magiſtrates.

Old Aberdeen is the ancient epiſcopal city, in which are ſtill to be ſeen the remains of the cathedral. It has the appearance of a town in decay, having been ſituated in times when commerce was yet unſtudied, with very little attention to the commodities of the harbour.

New Aberdeen has all the buſtle of proſperous trade, and all the ſhow of increaſing opulence. It is built by the water ſide. The houſes are large and lofty, and the ſtreets ſpacious and clean. They build almoſt wholly with the granite uſed in the new pavement of the ſtreets of London, which is well known not to want hardneſs, yet they ſhape it eaſily. It is beautiful, and muſt be very laſting.

What particular parts of commerce are chiefly exerciſed by the merchants of Aberdeen, I have not inquired. The manufacture which forces itſelf upon a ſtranger's eye is that of knit-ſtockings, on which the women of the lower claſs are viſibly employed.

In each of theſe towns there is a college, or, in ſtricter language, an univerſity; for in both there are profeſſors of the ſame parts of learning, and the colleges hold their ſeſſions and confer degrees ſeparately, with total independence of one on the other.

In Old Aberdeen ſtands the King's College, of which the firſt Preſident was Hector Boece, or Boethius, who may be juſtly reverenced one of the revivers of elegant learning. When he ſtudied at Paris, he was acquainted with Eraſmus, who afterwards gave him a public teſtimony of his eſteem, by inſcribing to him a catalogue of his works. The ſtyle of Boethius, though, perhaps not always rigorouſly pure, is formed with great diligence upon ancient models, and wholly uninfected with monaſtic barbarity. His hiſtory is written with elegance and vigour, but his fabulouſneſs and credulity are juſtly blamed. His fabulouſneſs, if he was the author of the fictions, is a fault for which no apology can be made; but his credulity may be excuſed in an age, when all men were credulous. Learning was then riſing on the world; but ages ſo long accuſtomed to darkneſs, were too much dazzled with its light to ſee any thing diſtinctly. The firſt race of ſcholars in the fifteenth century, and ſome time after, were, for the moſt part, learning to ſpeak, rather than to think, and were therefore more ſtudious of elegance than of truth. The contemporaries of Boethius thought it ſufficient to know what the ancients had delivered. The examination of tenets and of facts was reſerved for another generation.

Boethius, as preſident of the univerſity, enjoyed a revenue of forty Scottiſh marks, about two pounds four ſhillings and ſixpence of ſterling money. In the preſent age of trade and taxes, it is difficult even for the imagination ſo to raiſe the value of money, or ſo to diminiſh the demands of life, as to ſuppoſe four and forty ſhillings a year, an honourable ſtipend; yet it was probably equal, not only to the needs, but to the rank of Boethius. The wealth of England was undoubtedly to that of Scotland more than five to one, and it is known, that Henry the Eighth, among whoſe faults avarice was never reckoned, granted to Roger Aſcham, as a reward of his learning, a penſion of ten pounds a-year.

The other, called the Mariſchal College, is in the new town. The hall is large and well lighted. One of its ornaments is the picture of Arthur Johnſton, who was principal of the college, and who holds among the Latin poets of Scotland the next place to the elegant Buchanan.

In the library I was ſhewn ſome curioſities; a Hebrew manuſcript of exquiſite penmanſhip, and a Latin tranſlation of Ariſtotle's Politics by Leonardus Aretinus, written in the Roman character with nicety and beauty, which, as the art of printing has made them no longer neceſſary, are not now to be found. This was one of the lateſt performances of the tranſcribers, for Aretinus died but about twenty years before typography was invented. This verſion has been printed, and may be found in libraries, but is little read; for the ſame books have been ſince tranſlated both by Victorius and Lambinus, who lived in an age more cultivated, but perhaps owed in part to Aretinus that they were able to excel him. Much is due to thoſe who firſt broke the way to knowledge, and left only to their ſucceſſors the taſk of ſmoothing it.

In both theſe colleges the methods of inſtruction are nearly the ſame; the lectures differing only by the accidental difference of diligence, or ability in the profeſſors. The ſtudents wear ſcarlet gowns, and the profeſſors black, which is, I believe, the academical dreſs in all the Scottiſh univerſities, except that of Edinburgh, where the ſcholars are not diſtinguiſhed by any particular habit. In the King's College there is kept a public table, but the ſcholars of the Mariſchal College are boarded in town. The expence of living is here, according to the information that I could obtain, ſomewhat more than at St Andrews.

The courſe of education is extended to four years, at the end of which thoſe who take a degree, who are not many, become maſters of arts, and whoever is a maſter, may, if he pleaſes, immediately commence doctor. The title of doctor, however, was for a conſiderable time beſtowed only on phyſicians. The advocates are examined and approved by their own body; the miniſters were not ambitious of titles, or were afraid of being cenſured for ambition; and the doctorate in every faculty was commonly given or ſold into other countries. The miniſters are now reconciled to diſtinction, and as it muſt always happen that ſome will excel others, have thought graduation a proper teſtimony of uncommon abilities or acquiſitions.

The indiſcriminate collation of degrees has juſtly taken away that reſpect which they originally claimed as ſtamps, by which the literary value of men ſo diſtinguiſhed was authoritatively denoted. That academical honours, or any others, ſhould be conferred with exact proportion to merit, is more than human judgment or human integrity have given reaſon to expect. Perhaps degrees in univerſities cannot be better adjuſted by any general rule than by the length of time paſſed in the public profeſſion of learning. An Engliſh or Iriſh doctorate cannot be obtained by a very young man, and it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, what is likewiſe by experience commonly found true, that he who is by age qualified to be a doctor, has in ſo much time gained learning ſufficient not to diſgrace the title, or wit ſufficient not to deſire it.

The Scotch univerſities hold but one term or ſeſſion in the year. That of St Andrews continues eight months, that of Aberdeen only five, from the firſt of November to the firſt of April.

In Aberdeen there is an Engliſh chapel, in which the congregation was numerous and ſplendid. The form of public worſhip uſed by the church of England is in Scotland legally practiſed in licenſed chapels ſerved by clergymen of Engliſh or Iriſh ordination, and by tacit connivance quietly permitted in ſeparate congregations ſupplied with miniſters by the ſucceſſors of the Biſhops who were deprived at the Revolution.

We came to Aberdeen on Saturday Auguſt 21. On Monday we were invited into the town-hall, where I had the freedom of the city given me by the Lord Provoſt. The honour conferred had all the decorations that politeneſs could add, and what I am afraid I ſhould not have had to ſay of any city ſouth of the Tweed, I found no petty officer bowing for a fee.

The parchment containing the record of admiſſion is, with the ſeal appending, faſtened to a ribband and worn for one day by the new citizen in his hat.

By a Lady who ſaw us at the chapel, the Earl of Errol was informed of our arrival, and we had the honour of an invitation to his ſeat, called Slanes Caſtle, as I am told, improperly, from the caſtle of that name, which once ſtood at a place not far diſtant.

The road beyond Aberdeen grew more ſtony, and continued equally naked of all vegetable decoration. We travelled over a tract of ground near the ſea, which, not long ago, ſuffered a very uncommon, and unexpected calamity. The ſand of the ſhore was raiſed by a tempeſt in ſuch quantities, and carried to ſuch a diſtance, that an eſtate was overwhelmed and loſt. Such and ſo hopeleſs was the barrenneſs ſuperinduced, that the owner, when he was required to pay the uſual tax, deſired rather to reſign the ground.

SLANES CASTLE.
THE BULLER OF BUCHAN.

We came in the afternoon to Slanes Caſtle, built upon the margin of the ſea, ſo that the walls of one of the towers ſeem only a continuation of a perpendicular rock, the foot of which is beaten by the waves. To walk round the houſe ſeemed impracticable. From the window, the eye wanders over the ſea that ſeparates Scotland from Norway, and when the winds beat with violence muſt enjoy all the terrific grandeur of the tempeſtuous ocean. I would not for my amuſement wiſh for a ſtorm; but as ſtorms, whether wiſhed or not, will ſometimes happen, I may ſay, without violation of humanity, that I would willingly look out upon them from Slanes Caſtle.

When we were about to take our leave, our departure was prohibited by the counteſs till we ſhould have ſeen two places upon the coaſt, which ſhe rightly conſidered as worthy of curioſity, Dun Buy, and the Buller of Buchan, to which Mr Boyd very kindly conducted us.

Dun Buy, which in Erſe is ſaid to ſignify the Yellow Rock, is a double protuberance of ſtone, open to the main ſea on one ſide, and parted from the land by a very narrow channel on the other. It has its name and its colour from the dung of innumerable ſea-fowls, which in the Spring chuſe this place as convenient for incubation, and have their eggs and their young taken in great abundance. One of the birds that frequent this rock has, as we were told, its body not larger than a duck's, and yet lays eggs as large as thoſe of a gooſe. This bird is by the inhabitants named a *Coot*. That which is called *Coot* in England, is here a *Cooter*.

Upon theſe rocks there was nothing that could long detain attention, and we ſoon turned our eyes to the Buller, or Bouilloir of Buchan, which no man can ſee with indifference, who has either ſenſe of danger or delight in rarity. It is a rock perpendicularly tubulated, united on one ſide with a high ſhore, and on the other riſing ſteep to a great height, above the main ſea. The top is open, from which may be ſeen a dark gulph of water which flows into the cavity, through a breach made in the lower part of the incloſing rock. It has the appearance of a vaſt well bordered with a wall. The edge of the Buller is not wide, and to thoſe that walk round, appears very narrow. He that ventures to look downward, ſees, that if his foot ſhould ſlip, he muſt fall from his dreadful elevation upon ſtones on one ſide, or into the water on the other. We however went round, and were glad when the circuit was completed.

When we came down to the ſea, we ſaw ſome boats, and rowers, and reſolved to explore the Buller at the bottom. We entered the arch, which the water had made, and found ourſelves in a place, which, though we could not think ourſelves in danger, we could ſcarcely ſurvey without ſome recoil of the mind. The baſon in which we floated was nearly circular, perhaps thirty yards in diameter. We were incloſed by a natural wall, riſing ſteep on every ſide to a height which produced the idea of inſurmountable confinement. The interception of all lateral light cauſed a diſmal gloom. Round us was a perpendicular rock, above us the diſtant ſky, and below an unknown profundity of water. If I had any malice againſt a walking ſpirit, inſtead of laying him in the Red-ſea, I would condemn him to reſide in the Buller of Buchan.

But terror without danger is only one of the ſports of fancy, a voluntary agitation of the mind that is permitted no longer than it pleaſes. We were ſoon at leiſure to examine the place with minute inſpection, and found many cavities which, as the watermen told us, went backward to a depth which they had never explored. Their extent we had not time to try; they are ſaid to ſerve different purpoſes. Ladies come hither ſometimes in the ſummer with collations, and ſmugglers make them ſtore-houſes for clandeſtine merchandiſe. It is hardly to be doubted but the pirates of ancient times often uſed them as magazines of arms, or repoſitories of plunder.

To the little veſſels uſed by the northern rowers, the Buller may have ſerved as a ſhelter from ſtorms, and perhaps as a retreat from enemies; the entrance might have been ſtopped, or guarded with little difficulty; and though the veſſels that were ſtationed within would have been battered with ſtones ſhowered on them from above, yet the crews would have lain ſafe in the caverns.

Next morning we continued our journey, pleaſed with our reception at Slanes Caſtle, of which we had now leiſure to recount the grandeur and the elegance; for our way afforded us few topics of converſation. The ground was neither uncultivated nor unfruitful; but it was ſtill all arable. Of flocks or herds there was no appearance. I had now travelled two hundred miles in Scotland, and ſeen only one tree not younger than myſelf.

BAMFF.

We dined this day at the houſe of Mr Frazer of *Streichton*, who ſhewed us in his grounds ſome ſtones yet ſtanding of a druidical circle, and what I began to think more worthy of notice, ſome foreſt trees of full growth.

At night we came to Bamff, where I remember nothing that particularly claimed my attention. The ancient towns of Scotland have generally an appearance unuſual to Engliſhmen. The houſes, whether great or ſmall, are for the moſt part built of ſtones. Their ends are now and then next the ſtreets, and the entrance into them is very often by a flight of ſteps, which reaches up to the ſecond ſtory. The floor which is level with the ground being entered only by ſtairs deſcending within the houſe.

The art of joining ſquares of glaſs with lead is little uſed in Scotland, and in ſome places is totally forgotten. The frames of their windows are all of wood. They are more frugal of their glaſs than the Engliſh, and will often, in houſes not otherwiſe mean, compoſe a ſquare of two pieces, not joining like cracked glaſs, but with one edge laid perhaps half an inch over the other. Their windows do not move upon hinges, but are puſhed up and drawn down in grooves, yet they are ſeldom accommodated with weights and pullies. He that would have his window open muſt hold it with his hand, unleſs what may be ſometimes found among good contrivers, there be a nail, which he may ſtick into a hole to keep it from falling.

What cannot be done without ſome uncommon trouble or particular expedient, will not often be done at all. The incommodiouſneſs of the Scotch windows keeps them very cloſely ſhut. The neceſſity of ventilating human habitations has not yet been found by our northern neighbours; and even in houſes well built and elegantly furniſhed, a ſtranger may be ſometimes forgiven, if he allows himſelf to wiſh for freſher air.

Theſe diminutive obſervations ſeem to take away ſomething from the dignity of writing, and therefore are never communicated but with heſitation, and a little fear of abaſement and contempt. But it muſt be remembered, that life conſiſts not of a ſeries of illuſtrious actions, or elegant enjoyments; the greater part of our time paſſes in compliance with neceſſities, in the performance of daily duties, in the removal of ſmall inconveniences, in the procurement of petty pleaſures; and we are well or ill at eaſe, as the main ſtream of life glides on ſmoothly, or is ruffled by ſmall obſtacles and frequent interruption. The true ſtate of every nation is the ſtate of common life. The manners of a people are not to be found in the ſchools of learning, or the palaces of greatneſs, where the national character is obſcured or obliterated by travel or inſtruction, by philoſophy or vanity; nor is public happineſs to be eſtimated by the aſſemblies of the gay, or the banquets of the rich. The great maſs of nations is neither rich nor gay: they whoſe aggregate conſtitutes the people, are found in the ſtreets, and the villages, in the ſhops and farms; and from them collectively conſidered, muſt the meaſure of general proſperity be taken. As they approach to delicacy a nation is refined, as their conveniences are multiplied, a nation, at leaſt a commercial nation, muſt be denominated wealthy.

ELGIN.

Finding nothing to detain us at Bamff, we ſet out in the morning, and having breakfaſted at Cullen, about noon came to Elgin, where in the inn, that we ſuppoſed the beſt, a dinner was ſet before us, which we could not eat. This was the firſt time, and, except one, the laſt, that I found any reaſon to complain of a Scottiſh table; and ſuch diſappointments, I ſuppoſe, muſt be expected in every country, where there is no great frequency of travellers.

The ruins of the cathedral of Elgin afforded us another proof of the waſte of reformation. There is enough yet remaining to ſhew, that it was once magnificent. Its whole plot is eaſily traced. On the north ſide of the choir, the chapter-houſe, which is roofed with an arch of ſtone, remains entire; and on the ſouth ſide, another maſs of building, which we could not enter, is preſerved by the care of the family of Gordon; but the body of the church is a maſs of fragments.

A paper was here put into our hands, which deduced from ſufficient authorities the hiſtory of this venerable ruin. The church of Elgin had, in the inteſtine tumults of the barbarous ages, been laid waſte by the irruption of a highland chief, whom the biſhop had offended; but it was gradually reſtored to the ſtate, of which the traces may be now diſcerned, and was at laſt not deſtroyed by the tumultuous violence of Knox, but more ſhamefully ſuffered to dilapidate by deliberate robbery and frigid indifference. There is ſtill extant, in the books of the council, an order, of which I cannot remember the date, but which was doubtleſs iſſued after the Reformation, directing that the lead, which covers the two cathedrals of Elgin and Aberdeen, ſhall be taken away, and converted into money for the ſupport of the army. A Scotch army was in thoſe times very cheaply kept; yet the lead of two churches muſt have borne ſo ſmall a proportion to any military expence, that it is hard not to believe the reaſon alledged to be merely popular, and the money intended for ſome private purſe. The order however was obeyed; the two churches were ſtripped, and the lead was ſhipped to be ſold in Holland. I hope every reader will rejoice that this cargo of ſacrilege was loſt at ſea.

Let us not however make too much haſte to deſpiſe our neighbours. Our own cathedrals are mouldering by unregarded dilapidation. It ſeems to be part of the deſpicable philoſophy of the time to deſpiſe monuments of ſacred magnificence, and we are in danger of doing that deliberately, which the Scotch did not do but in the unſettled ſtate of an imperfect conſtitution.

Thoſe who had once uncovered the cathedrals never wiſhed to cover them again; and being thus made uſeleſs, they were firſt neglected, and perhaps, as the ſtone was wanted, afterwards demoliſhed.

Elgin ſeems a place of little trade, and thinly inhabited. The epiſcopal cities of Scotland, I believe, generally fell with their churches, though ſome of them have ſince recovered by a ſituation convenient for commerce. Thus Glaſgow, though it has no longer an archbiſhop, has riſen beyond its original ſtate by the opulence of its traders; and Aberdeen, though its ancient ſtock had decayed, flouriſhes by a new ſhoot in another place.

In the chief ſtreet of Elgin, the houſes jut over the loweſt ſtory, like the old buildings of timber in London, but with great prominence; ſo that there is ſometimes a walk for a conſiderable length under a cloiſter, or portico, which is now indeed frequently broken, becauſe the new houſes have another form, but ſeems to have been uniformly continued in the old city.

FORES. CALDER. FORT-GEORGE.

We went forwards the ſame day to Fores, the town to which Macbeth was travelling, when he met the weird ſiſters in his way. This to an Engliſhman is claſſic ground. Our imaginations were heated, and our thoughts recalled to their old amuſements.

We had now a prelude to the Highlands. We began to leave fertility and culture behind us, and ſaw for a great length of road nothing but heath; yet at Fochabers, a ſeat belonging to the Duke of Gordon, there is an orchard, which in Scotland I had never ſeen before, with ſome timber trees, and a plantation of oaks.

At Fores we found good accommodation, but nothing worthy of particular remark, and next morning entered upon the road, on which Macbeth heard the fatal prediction; but we travelled on, not interrupted by promiſes of kingdoms, and came to Nairn, a royal burgh, which, if once it flouriſhed, is now in a ſtate of miſerable decay; but I know not whether its chief annual magiſtrate has not ſtill the title of Lord Provoſt.

At Nairn we may fix the verge of the Highlands; for here I firſt ſaw peat fires, and firſt heard the Erſe language. We had no motive to ſtay longer than to breakfaſt, and went forward to the houſe of Mr Macaulay, the miniſter who publiſhed an account of St Kilda, and by his direction viſited Calder Caſtle, from which Macbeth drew his ſecond title. It has been formerly a place of ſtrength. The draw-bridge is ſtill to be ſeen, but the moat is now dry. The tower is very ancient; Its walls are of great thickneſs, arched on the top with ſtone, and ſurrounded with battlements.

The reſt of the houſe is later, though far from modern.

We were favoured by a gentleman, who lives in the caſtle, with a letter to one of the officers at Fort George, which being the moſt regular fortification in the iſland, well deſerves the notice of a traveller, who has never travelled before. We went thither next day, found a very kind reception, were led round the works by a gentleman, who explained the uſe of every part, and entertained by Sir Eyre Coote, the governor, with ſuch elegance of converſation as left us no attention to the delicacies of his table.

Of Fort George I ſhall not attempt to give any account. I cannot delineate it ſcientifically, and a looſe and popular deſcription is of uſe only when the imagination is to be amuſed. There was every where an appearance of the utmoſt neatneſs and regularity. But my ſuffrage is of little value, becauſe this and Fort Auguſtus are the only garriſons that I ever ſaw.

We did not regret the time ſpent at the fort, though in conſequence of our delay we came ſomewhat late to Inverneſs, the town which may properly be called the capital of the Highlands. Hither the inhabitants of the inland parts come to be ſupplied with what they cannot make for themſelves: hither the young nymphs of the mountains and valleys are ſent for education, and, as far as my obſervation has reached, are not ſent in vain.

INVERNESS.

Inverneſs was the laſt place which had a regular communication by high roads with the ſouthern counties. All the ways beyond it have, I believe, been made by the ſoldiers in this century. At Invérneſs, therefore, Cromwell, when he ſubdued Scotland, ſtationed a garriſon, as at the boundary of the Highlands. The ſoldiers ſeem to have incorporated afterwards with the inhabitants, and to have peopled the place with an Engliſh race; for the language of this town has been long conſidered as peculiarly elegant.

Here is a caſtle, called the caſtle of Macbeth, the walls of which are yet ſtanding. It was no very capacious edifice, but ſtands upon a rock ſo high and ſteep, that I think it was once not acceſſible, but by the help of ladders, or a bridge. Over againſt it, on another hill, was a fort built by Cromwell, now totally demoliſhed; for no faction of Scotland loved the name of Cromwell, or had any deſire to continue his memory.

Yet what the Romans did to other nations was in a great degree done by Cromwell to the Scots; he civilized them by conqueſt, and introduced by uſeful violence the arts of peace. I was told at Aberdeen that the people learned from Cromwell's ſoldiers to make ſhoes and to plant kail.

How they lived without kail, it is not eaſy to gueſs: they cultivate hardly any other plant for common tables, and when they had not kail they probably had nothing. The numbers that go barefoot are ſtill ſufficient to ſhew that ſhoes may be ſpared: They are not yet conſidered as neceſſaries of life; for tall boys, not otherwiſe meanly dreſſed, run without them in the ſtreets and in the iſlands; the ſons of gentlemen paſs ſeveral of their firſt years with naked feet.

I know not whether it be not peculiar to the Scots to have attained the liberal, without the manual arts, to have excelled in ornamental knowledge, and to have wanted not only the elegancies, but the conveniencies of common life. Literature ſoon after its revival found its way to Scotland, and from the middle of the 16th century, almoſt to the middle of the 17th, the politer ſtudies were very diligently purſued. The Latin poetry of *Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum* would have done honour to any nation, at leaſt till the publication of May's Supplement the Engliſh had very little to oppoſe.

Yet men thus ingenious and inquiſitive were content to live in total ignorance of the trades by which human wants are ſupplied, and to ſupply them by the groſſeſt means. Till the Union made them acquainted with Engliſh manners, the culture of their lands was unſkilful, and their domeſtic life unformed; their tables were coarſe as the feaſts of Eſkimeaux, and their houſes filthy as the cottages of Hottentots.

Since they have known that their condition was capable of improvement, their progreſs in uſeful knowledge has been rapid and uniform. What remains to be done they will quickly do, and then wonder, like me, why that which was ſo neceſſary and ſo eaſy was ſo long delayed. But they muſt be for ever content to owe to the Engliſh that elegance and culture, which, if they had been vigilant and active, perhaps the Engliſh might have owed to them.

Here the appearance of life began to alter. I had ſeen a few women with plaids at Aberdeen; but at Inverneſs the Highland manners are common. There is I think a kirk, in which only the Erſe language is uſed. There is likewiſe an Engliſh chapel, but meanly built, where on Sunday we ſaw a very decent congregation.

We were now to bid farewell to the luxury of travelling, and to enter a country in which perhaps no wheel has ever rolled. We could indeed have uſed our poſt-chaiſe one day longer, along the military road to Fort Auguſtus, but we could have hired no horſes beyond Inverneſs, and we were not ſo ſparing of ourſelves as to lead them, merely that we might have one day longer the indulgence of a carriage.

At Inverneſs, therefore, we procured three horſes for ourſelves and a ſervant, and one more for our baggage, which was no very heavy load. We found in the courſe of our journey the convenience of having diſencumbered ourſelves by laying aſide whatever we could ſpare; for it is not to be imagined without experience, how in climbing crags, and treading bogs, and winding through narrow and obſtructed paſſages, a little bulk will hinder, and a little weight will burden; or how often a man that has pleaſed himſelf at home with his own reſolution, will in the hour of darkneſs and fatigue be content to leave behind him every thing but himſelf.

LOUGH-NSS.

We took two Highlanders to run beſide us, partly to ſhew us the way, and partly to take back from the ſea-ſide the horſes, of which they were the owners. One of them was a man of great livelineſs and activity, of whom his companion ſaid, that he would tire any horſe in Inverneſs. Both of them were civil and ready-handed. Civility ſeems part of the national character of Highlanders. Every chieftain is a monarch, and politeneſs, the natural product of royal government, is diffuſed from the laird through the whole clan. But they are not commonly dextrous: their narrowneſs of life confines them to a few operations, and they are accuſtomed to endure little wants more than to remove them.

We mounted our ſteeds on the thirteenth of

Auguſt, and directed our guides to conduct us to Fort Auguſtus. It is built at the head of Lough Neſs, of which Inverneſs ſtands at the outlet. The way between them has been cut by the ſoldiers, and the greater part of it runs along a rock, levelled with great labour and exactneſs, near the water-ſide.

Moſt of this day's journey was very pleaſant. The day, though bright, was not hot; and the appearance of the country, if I had not ſeen the Peak, would have been wholly new. We went upon a ſurface ſo hard and level, that we had little care to hold the bridle, and were therefore at full leiſure for contemplation. On the left were high and ſteep rocks ſhaded with birch, the hardy native of the North, and covered with fern or heath. On the right the limpid waters of Lough Neſs were beating their bank, and waving their ſurface by a gentle agitation. Beyond them were rocks ſometimes covered with verdure, and ſometimes towering in horrid nakedneſs. Now and then we eſpied a little corn-field, which ſerved to impreſs more ſtrongly the general barenneſs.

Lough Neſs is about twenty-four miles long, and from one mile to two miles broad. It is remarkable that Boethius, in his deſcription of Scotland, gives it twelve miles of breadth. When hiſtorians or geographers exhibit falſe accounts of places far diſtant, they may be forgiven, becauſe they can tell but what they are told; and that their accounts exceed the truth may be juſtly ſuppoſed, becauſe moſt men exaggerate to others, if not to themſelves: but Boethius lived at no great diſtance; if he never ſaw the lake, he muſt have been very incurious, and if he had ſeen it, his veracity yielded to very ſlight temptations.

Lough Neſs, though not twelve miles broad, is a very remarkable diffuſion of water without iſlands. It fills a large hollow between two ridges of high rocks, being ſupplied partly by the torrents which fall into it on either ſide, and partly, as is ſuppoſed, by ſprings at the bottom. Its water is remarkably clear and pleaſant, and is imagined by the natives to be medicinal. We were told, that it is in ſome places a hundred and forty fathom deep, a profundity ſcarcely credible, and which probably thoſe that relate it have never ſounded. Its fiſh are ſalmon, trout, and pike.

It was ſaid at Fort Auguſtus, that Lough Neſs is open in the hardeſt winters, though a lake not far from it is covered with ice. In diſcuſſing theſe exceptions from the courſe of nature, the firſt queſtion is, whether the fact be juſtly ſtated. That which is ſtrange is delightful, and a pleaſing error is not willingly detected. Accuracy of narration is not very common, and there are few ſo rigidly philoſophical, as not to repreſent as perpetual, what is only frequent, or as conſtant, what is really caſual. If it be true that Lough Neſs never freezes, it is either ſheltered by its high banks from the cold blaſts, and expoſed only to thoſe winds which have more power to agitate than congeal; or it is kept in perpetual motion by the ruſh of ſtreams from the rocks that incloſe it. Its profundity, though it ſhould be ſuch as is repreſented, can have little part in this exemption; for though deep wells are not frozen, becauſe their water is ſecluded from the external air, yet where a wide ſurface is expoſed to the full influence of a freezing atmoſphere, I know not why the depth ſhould keep it open. Natural philoſophy is now one of the favourite ſtudies of the Scottiſh nation, and Lough Neſs well deſerves to be diligently examined.

The road on which we travelled, and which was itſelf a ſource of entertainment, is made along the rock, in the direction of the lough, ſometimes by breaking off protuberances, and ſometimes by cutting the great maſs of ſtone to a conſiderable depth. The fragments are piled in a looſe wall on either ſide, with apertures left at very ſhort ſpaces, to give a paſſage to the wintry currents. Part of it is bordered with low trees, from which our guides gathered nuts, and would have had the appearance of an Engliſh lane, except that an Engliſh lane is almoſt always dirty. It has been made with great labour, but has this advantage, that it cannot, without equal labour, be broken up.

Within our ſight there were goats feeding or playing. The mountains have red deer, but they came not within view; and if what is ſaid of their vigilance and ſubtlety be true, they have ſome claim to that palm of wiſdom which the eaſtern philoſopher, whom Alexander interrogated, gave to thoſe beaſts which live furtheſt from men.

Near the way, by the water ſide, we eſpied a cottage. This was the firſt Highland hut that I had ſeen; and as our buſineſs was with life and manners, we were willing to viſit it. To enter a habitation without leave, ſeems to be not conſidered here as rudeneſs or intruſion. The old laws of hoſpitality ſtill give this licence to a ſtranger.

A hut is conſtructed with looſe ſtones, ranged for the moſt part with ſome tendency to circularity. It muſt be placed where the wind cannot act upon it with violence, becauſe it has no cement; and where the water will run eaſily away, becauſe it has no floor but the naked ground. The wall, which is commonly about ſix feet high, declines from the perpendicular a little inward. Such rafters as can be procured are then raiſed for a roof, and covered with heath, which makes a ſtrong and warm thatch, kept from flying off by ropes of twiſted heath, of which the ends, reaching from the centre of the thatch to the top of the wall, are held firm by the weight of a large ſtone. No light is admitted but at the entrance, and through a hole in the thatch, which gives vent to the ſmoke. This hole is not directly over the fire, leſt the rain ſhould extinguiſh it; and the ſmoke therefore naturally fills the place before it eſcapes. Such is the general ſtructure of the houſes in which one of the nations of this opulent and powerful iſland has been hitherto content to live. Huts however are not more uniform than palaces; and this which we were inſpecting was very far from one of the meaneſt, for it was divided into ſeveral apartments; and its inhabitants poſſeſſed ſuch property as a paſtoral poet might exalt into riches.

When we entered, we found an old woman boiling goats-fleſh in a kettle. She ſpoke little Engliſh, but we had interpreters at hand; and ſhe was willing enough to diſplay her whole ſyſtem of economy. She has five children, of which none are yet gone from her. The eldeſt, a boy of thirteen, and her huſband, who is eighty years old, were at work in the wood. Her two next ſons were gone to Inverneſs to buy meal, by which oatmeal is always meant. Meal ſhe conſidered as expenſive food, and told us, that in Spring when the goats gave milk, the children could live without it. She is miſtreſs of ſixty goats, and I ſaw many kids in an encloſure at the end of her houſe. She had alſo ſome poultry. By the lake we ſaw a potatoe-garden, and a ſmall ſpot of ground on which ſtood four ſtucks, containing each twelve ſheaves of barley. She has all this from the labour of their own hands, and for what is neceſſary to be bought, her kids and her chickens are ſent to market.

With the true paſtoral hoſpitality, ſhe aſked us to ſit down and drink whiſky. She is religious, and though the kirk is four miles off, probably eight Engliſh miles, ſhe goes thither every Sunday. We gave her a ſhilling, and ſhe begged ſnuff; for ſnuff is the luxury of a Highland cottage.

Soon afterwards we came to the General's Hut, ſo called becauſe it was the temporary abode of Wade while he ſuperintended the works upon the road. It is now a houſe of entertainment for paſſengers, and we found it not ill-ſtocked with proviſions.

FALL OF FIERS.

Towards evening we croſſed, by a bridge, the river which makes the celebrated fall of Fiers. The country at the bridge ſtrikes the imagination with all the gloom and grandeur of Siberian ſolitude. The way makes a flexure, and the mountains, covered with trees, riſe at once on the left hand and in the front. We deſired our guides to ſhew us the fall, and diſmounting clambered over very rugged craggs, till I began to wiſh that our curioſity might have been gratified with leſs trouble and danger. We came at laſt to a place where we could overlook the river, and ſaw a channel torn, as it ſeems, through black piles of ſtone, by which the ſtream is obſtructed and broken, till it comes to a very ſteep deſcent, of ſuch dreadful depth, that we were naturally inclined to turn aſide our eyes.

But we viſited the place at an unſeaſonable time, and found it diveſted of its dignity and terror. Nature never gives every thing at once. A long continuance of dry weather, which made the reſt of the way eaſy and delightful, deprived us of the pleaſure expected from the fall of Fiers. The river having now no water but what the ſprings ſupply, ſhowed us only a ſwift current, clear and ſhallow, fretting over the aſperities of the rocky bottom, and we were left to exerciſe our thoughts, by endeavouring to conceive the effect of a thouſand ſtreams poured from the mountains into one channel, ſtruggling for expanſion in a narrow paſſage, exaſperated by rocks riſing in their way, and at laſt diſcharging all their violence of waters by a ſudden fall through the horrid chaſm.

The way now grew leſs eaſy, deſcending by an uneven declivity, but without either dirt or danger. We did not arrive at Fort Auguſtus till it was late. Mr Boſwell, who, between his father's merit, and his own, is ſure of reception wherever he comes, ſent a ſervant before to beg admiſſion and entertainment for that night. Mr Trapaud, the governor, treated us with that courteſy which is ſo cloſely connected with the military character. He came out to meet us beyond the gates, and apologized that, at ſo late an hour, the rules of a garriſon ſuffered him to give us entrance only at the poſtern.

FORT AUGUSTUS.

In the morning we viewed the fort, which is much leſs than that of St George, and is ſaid to be commanded by the neighbouring hills. It was not long ago taken by the Highlanders. But its ſituation ſeems well choſen for pleaſure, if not for ſtrength; it ſtands at the head of the lake, and, by a ſloop of ſixty tons, is ſupplied from Inverneſs with great convenience.

We were now to croſs the Highlands towards the weſtern coaſt, and to content ourſelves with ſuch accommodations, as a way ſo little frequented could afford. The journey was not formidable, for it was but of two days, very unequally divided, becauſe the only houſe, where we could be entertained was not further off than a third of the way. We ſoon came to a high hill, which we mounted by a military road, cut in traverſes, ſo that as we went upon a higher ſtage, we ſaw the baggage following us below in a contrary direction. To make this way, the rock has been hewn to a level with labour that might have broken the perſeverance of a Roman legion.

The country is totally denuded of its wood, but the ſtumps both of oaks and firs, which are ſtill found, ſhew that it has been once a foreſt of large timber. I do not remember that we ſaw any animals, but we were told that, in the mountains, there are ſtags, roebucks, goats, and rabbits.

We did not perceive that this tract was poſſeſſed by human beings, except that once we ſaw a corn field, in which a lady was walking with ſome gentlemen. Their houſe was certainly at no great diſtance, but ſo ſituated that we could not deſcry it.

Paſſing on through the drearineſs of ſolitude, we found a party of ſoldiers from the fort, working on the road, under the ſuperintendence of a ſerjeant. We told them how kindly we had been treated at the garriſon, and as we were enjoying the benefit of their labours, begged leave to ſhew our gratitude by a ſmall preſent.

ANOCH.

Early in the afternoon we came to Anoch, a village in Glen-morriſon of three huts, one of which is diſtinguiſhed by a chimney. Here we were to dine and lodge, and were conducted through the firſt room, that had the chimney, into another lighted by a ſmall glaſs window. The landlord attended us with great civility, and told us what he could give us to eat and drink. I found ſome books on a ſhelf, among which were a volume or more of Prideaux's Connection.

This I mentioned as ſomething unexpected, and perceived that I did not pleaſe him. I praiſed the propriety of his language, and was anſwered that I need not wonder, for he had learned it by grammar.

By ſubſequent opportunities of obſervation I found that my hoſt's diction had nothing peculiar. Thoſe Highlanders that can ſpeak Engliſh, commonly ſpeak it well, with few of the words, and little of the tone by which a Scotchman is diſtinguiſhed. Their language ſeems to have been learned in the army or the navy, or by ſome communication with thoſe who could give them good examples of accent and pronunciation. By their Lowland neighbours they would not willingly be taught; for they have long conſidered them as a mean and degenerate race. Theſe prejudices are wearing faſt away; but ſo much of them ſtill remains, that when I aſked a very learned miniſter in the iſlands, which they conſidered as their moſt ſavage clans? "Thoſe, ſaid he, that live next the "Lowlands."

As we came hither early in the day, we had time ſufficient to ſurvey the place. The houſe was built like other huts, of looſe ſtones, but the part in which we dined and ſlept was lined with turf and wattled with twigs, which kept the earth from falling. Near it was a garden of turnips and a field of potatoes. It ſtands in a glen, or valley, pleaſantly watered by a winding river. But this country, however it may delight the gazer or amuſe the naturaliſt, is of no great advantage to its owners. Our landlord told us of a gentleman, who poſſeſſes lands, eighteen Scotch miles in length and three in breadth; a ſpace containing at leaſt a hundred ſquare Engliſh miles. He has raiſed his rents, to the danger of depopulating his farms, and he fells his timber, and by exerting every art of augmentation, has obtained a yearly revenue of four hundred pounds, which for a hundred ſquare miles is three half-pence an acre.

Some time after dinner we were ſurpriſed by the entrance of a young woman, not inelegant either in mien or dreſs, who aſked us whether we would have tea. We found that ſhe was the daughter of our hoſt, and deſired her to make it. Her converſation, like her appearance, was gentle and pleaſing. We knew that the girls of the Highlands are all gentlewomen, and treated her with great reſpect, which ſhe received as cuſtomary and due, and was neither elated by it, nor confuſed, but repaid by civilities without embarraſſment, and told me how much I honoured her country by coming to ſurvey it.

She had been at Inverneſs to gain the common female qualifications, and had, like her father, the Engliſh pronunciation. I preſented her with a book, which I happened to have about me, and ſhould not be pleaſed to think that ſhe forgets me.

In the evening the ſoldiers, whom we had paſſed on the road, came to ſpend at our inn the little money that we had given them. They had the true military impatience of coin in their pockets, and had marched at leaſt ſix miles to find the firſt place where liquor could be bought. Having never been before in a place ſo wild and unfrequented, I was glad of their arrival, becauſe I knew that we had made them friends, and to gain ſtill more of their good will, we went to them, where they were carouſing in the barn, and added ſomething to our former gift. All that we gave was not much, but it detained them in the barn, either merry or quarrelling, the whole night, and in the morning they went back to their work, with great indignation at the bad qualities of whiſky.

We had gained ſo much the favour of our hoſt, that, when we left his houſe in the morning, he walked by us a great way, and entertained us with converſation both on his own condition, and that of the country. His life ſeemed to be merely paſtoral, except that he differed from ſome of the ancient Nomades in having a ſettled dwelling. His wealth conſiſts of one hundred ſheep, as many goats, twelve milk-cows, and twenty-eight beeves ready for the drover.

From him we firſt heard of the general diſſatisfaction, which is now driving the Highlanders into the other hemiſphere; and when I aſked him whether they would ſtay at home, if they were well treated, he anſwered with indignation, that no man willingly left his native country. Of the farm, which he himſelf occupied, the rent had, in twenty-five years, been advanced from five to twenty pounds, which he found himſelf ſo little able to pay, that he would be glad to try his fortune in ſome other place. Yet he owned the reaſonableneſs of raiſing the Highland rents in a certain degree, and declared himſelf willing to pay ten pounds for the ground which he had formerly had for five.

Our hoſt having amuſed us for a time, reſigned us to our guides. The journey of this day was long, not that the diſtance was great, but that the way was difficult. We were now in the boſom of the Highlands, with full leiſure to contemplate the appearance and properties of mountainous regions, ſuch as have been, in many countries, the laſt ſhelter of national diſtreſs, and are every where the ſcenes of adventures, ſtratagems, ſurpriſes, and eſcapes.

Mountainous countries are not paſſed but with difficulty, not merely from the labour of climbing; for to climb is not always neceſſary: but becauſe that which is not mountain is commonly bog, through which the way muſt be picked with caution. Where there are hills, there is much rain, and the torrents, pouring down into the intermediate ſpaces, ſeldom find ſo ready an outlet, as not to ſtagnate, till they have broken the texture of the ground.

Of the hills, which our journey offered to the view on either ſide, we did not take the height, nor did we ſee any that aſtoniſhed us with their loftineſs. Towards the ſummit of one, there was a white ſpot, which I ſhould have called a naked rock, but the guides, who had better eyes, and were acquainted with the phænomena of the country, declared it to be ſnow. It had already laſted to the end of Auguſt, and was likely to maintain its conteſt with the ſun till it ſhould be reinforced by winter.

The height of mountains philoſophically conſidered is properly computed from the ſurface of the next ſea; but as it affects the eye or imagination of the paſſenger, as it makes either a ſpectacle or an obſtruction, it muſt be reckoned from the place where the riſe begins to make a conſiderable angle with the plain. In extenſive continents the land may, by gradual elevation, attain great heigth, without any other appearance than that of a plane gently inclined, and if a hill placed upon ſuch raiſed ground be deſcribed, as having its altitude equal to the whole ſpace above the ſea, the repreſentation will be fallacious.

Theſe mountains may be properly enough meaſured from the inland baſe; for it is not much above the ſea. As we advanced at evening towards the weſtern coaſt, I did not obſerve the declivity to be greater than is neceſſary for the diſcharge of the inland waters.

We paſſed many rivers and rivulets, which commonly ran with a clear ſhallow ſtream over a hard pebbly bottom. Theſe channels, which ſeem ſo much wider than the water that they convey would naturally require, are formed by the violence of wintry floods, produced by the accumulation of innumerable ſtreams that fall in rainy weather from the hills, and burſting away with reſiſtleſs impetuoſity, make themſelves a paſſage proportionate to their maſs.

Such capricious and temporary waters cannot be expected to produce many fiſh. The rapidity of the wintry deluge ſweeps them away, and the ſcantineſs of the ſummer ſtream would hardly ſuſtain them above the ground. This is the reaſon why in fording the northern rivers, no fiſhes are ſeen, as in England, wandering in the water.

Of the hills many may be called with Homer's Ida *abundant in ſprings*, but few can deſerve the epithet which he beſtows upon Pelion by *waving their leaves*. They exhibit very little variety; being almoſt wholly covered with dark heath, and even that ſeems to be checked in its growth. What is not heath is nakedneſs, a little diverſified by now and then a ſtream ruſhing down the ſteep. An eye accuſtomed to flowery paſtures and waving harveſts is aſtoniſhed and repelled by this wide extent of hopeleſs ſterility. The appearance is that of matter incapable of form or uſefulneſs, diſmiſſed by nature from her care, and diſinherited of her favours, left in its original elemental ſtate, or quickened only with one ſullen power of uſeleſs vegetation.

It will very readily occur, that this uniformity of barrenneſs can afford very little amuſement to the traveller; that it is eaſy to ſit at home and conceive rocks, and heath, and waterfalls; and that theſe journeys are uſeleſs labours, which neither impregnate the imagination, nor enlarge the underſtanding. It is true, that of far the greater part of things, we muſt content ourſelves with ſuch knowledge as deſcription may exhibit, or analogy ſupply; but, it is true likewiſe, that theſe ideas are always incomplete, and that at leaſt, till we have compared them with realities, we do not know them to be juſt. As we ſee more, we become poſſeſſed of more certainties, and conſequently gain more principles of reaſoning, and found a wider baſis of analogy.

Regions mountainous and wild, thinly inhabited, and little cultivated, make a great part of the earth, and he that has never ſeen them, muſt live unacquainted with much of the face of nature, and with one of the great ſcenes of human exiſtence.

As the day advanced towards noon, we entered a narrow valley, not very flowery, but ſufficiently verdant. Our guides told us, that the horſes could not travel all day without reſt or meat, and entreated us to ſtop here, becauſe no graſs could be found in any other place. The requeſt was reaſonable, and the argument cogent. We therefore willingly diſmounted and diverted ourſelves as the place gave us opportunity.

I ſat down on a bank, ſuch as a writer of Romance might have delighted to feign. I had indeed no trees to whiſper over my head, but a clear rivulet ſtreamed at my feet. The day was calm, the air ſoft, and all was rudeneſs, ſilence, and ſolitude. Before me, and on either ſide, were high hills, which, by hindering the eye from ranging, forced the mind to find entertainment for itſelf. Whether I ſpent the hour well I know not; for here I firſt conceived the thought of this narration.

We were in this place at eaſe, and by choice, and had no evils to ſuffer or to fear; yet the imaginations excited by the view of an unknown and untravelled wilderneſs are not ſuch as ariſe in the artificial ſolitude of parks and gardens, a flattering notion of ſelf-ſufficiency, a placid indulgence of voluntary deluſions, a ſecure expanſion of the fancy, or a cool concentration of the mental powers. The phantoms which haunt a deſert are want, and miſery, and danger; the evils of dereliction ruſh upon the thoughts; man is made unwillingly acquainted with his own weakneſs, and meditation ſhews him only how little he can ſuſtain, and how little he can perform. There were no traces of inhabitants, except, perhaps, a rude pile of clods called a ſummer hut, in which a herdſman had reſted in the favourable ſeaſons. Whoever had been in the place where I then ſat, unprovided with proviſions and ignorant of the country, might, at leaſt before the roads were made, have wandered among the rocks till he had periſhed with hardſhip, before he could have found either food or ſhelter. Yet what are theſe hillocks to the ridges of Taurus, or theſe ſpots of wildneſs to the deſarts of America?

It was not long before we were invited to mount, and continued our journey along the ſide of a lough, kept full by many ſtreams, which with more or leſs rapidity and noiſe croſſed the road from the hills on the other hand. Theſe currents, in their diminiſhed ſtate, after ſeveral dry months, afford, to one who has always lived in level countries, an unuſual and delightful ſpectacle; but, in the rainy ſeaſon, ſuch as every winter may be expected to bring, muſt precipitate an impetuous and tremendous flood. I ſuppoſe the way by which we went, is at that time impaſſable.

GLENSHEALS.

The lough at laſt ended in a river broad and ſhallow like the reſt, but that it may be paſſed when it is deeper, there is a bridge over it. Beyond it is a valley called *Glenſheals*, inhabited by the clan of Macrae. Here we found a village called *Auknaſheals*, conſiſting of many huts, perhaps twenty, built all of dry ſtone, that is, ſtones piled up without mortar.

We had, by the direction of the officers at Fort Auguſtus, taken bread for ourſelves, and tobacco for thoſe Highlanders who might ſhow us any kindneſs. We were now at a place where we could obtain milk, but muſt have wanted bread if we had not brought it. The people of this valley did not appear to know any Engliſh, and our guides now became doubly neceſſary as interpreters. A woman, whoſe hut was diſtinguiſhed by greater ſpaciouſneſs and better architecture, brought out ſome pails of milk. The villagers gathered about us in conſiderable numbers, I believe without any evil intention, but with a very ſavage wildneſs of aſpect and manner. When our meal was over, Mr Boſwell ſliced the bread, and divided it amongſt them, as he ſuppoſed them never to have taſted a wheaten loaf before. He then gave them little pieces of twiſted tobacco, and among the children we diſtributed a ſmall handful of halfpence, which they received with great eagerneſs. Yet I have been ſince told that the people of that valley are not indigent; and when we mentioned them afterwards as needy and pitiable, a Highland lady let us know, that we might ſpare our commiſeration; for the dame whoſe milk we drank had probably more than a dozen milk-cows. She ſeemed unwilling to take any price, but being preſſed to make a demand, at laſt named a ſhilling. Honeſty is not greater where elegance is leſs. One of the byſtanders, as we were told afterwards, adviſed her to aſk more, but ſhe ſaid a ſhilling was enough. We gave her half a crown, and I hope got ſome credit by our behaviour; for the company ſaid, if our interpreters did not flatter us, that they had not ſeen ſuch a day ſince the old laird of Macleod paſſed through their country.

The Macraes, as we heard afterwards in the Hebrides, were originally an indigent and ſubordinate clan, and having no farms nor ſtock, were in great numbers ſervants to the Maclellans, who, in the war of Charles the Firſt, took arms at the call of the heroic Montroſe, and were, in one of his battles almoſt all deſtroyed. The women that were left at home, being thus deprived of their huſbands, like the Scythian ladies of old, married their ſervants, and the Macraes became a conſiderable race.

THE HIGHLANDS.

As we continued our journey, we were at leiſure to extend our ſpeculations, and to inveſtigate the reaſon of thoſe peculiarities, by which ſuch rugged regions as theſe before us are generally diſtinguiſhed.

Mountainous countries commonly contain the original, at leaſt the oldeſt race of inhabitants, for they are not eaſily conquered, becauſe they muſt be entered by narrow ways, expoſed to every power of miſchief from thoſe that occupy the heights; and every new ridge is a new fortreſs, where the defendants have again the ſame advantages. If the aſſailants either force the ſtrait, or ſtorm the ſummit, they gain only ſo much ground; their enemies are fled to take poſſeſſion of the next rock, and the purſuers ſtand at gaze, knowing neither where the ways of eſcape wind among the ſteeps, nor where the bog has firmneſs to ſuſtain them: beſides that, mountaineers have an agility in climbing and deſcending, diſtinct from ſtrength or courage, and attainable only by uſe.

If the war be not ſoon concluded, the invaders are diſlodged by hunger; for in thoſe anxious and toilſome marches, proviſions cannot eaſily be carried, and are never to be found. The wealth of mountains is cattle, which, while the men ſtand in the paſſes, the women drive away. Such lands at laſt cannot repay the expence of conqueſt, and therefore, perhaps have not been ſo often invaded by the mere ambition of dominion; as by reſentment of robberies and inſults, or the deſire of enjoying in ſecurity the more fruitful provinces.

As mountains are long before they are conquered, they are likewiſe long before they are civilized. Men are ſoftened by intercourſe mutually profitable, and inſtructed by comparing their own notions with thoſe of others. Thus Cæſar found the maritime parts of Britain made leſs barbarous by their commerce with the Gauls. Into a barren and rough tract no ſtranger is brought either by the hope of gain or of pleaſure. The inhabitants having neither commodities for ſale nor money for purchaſe,

chaſe, ſeldom viſit more poliſhed places, or if they do viſit them, ſeldom return.

It ſometimes happens that by conqueſt, intermixture, or gradual refinement, the cultivated parts of a country change their language. The mountaineers then become a diſtinct nation, cut off by diſſimilitude of ſpeech from converſation with their neighbours. Thus in Biſcay, the original Cantabrian, and in Dalecarlia, the old Swediſh ſtill ſubſiſts. Thus Wales and the Highlands ſpeak the tongue of the firſt inhabitants of Britain, while the other parts have received firſt the Saxon, and in ſome degree afterwards the French, and then formed a third language between them.

That the primitive manners are continued where the primitive language is ſpoken, no nation will deſire me to ſuppoſe, for the manners of mountaineers are commonly ſavage, but they are rather produced by their ſituation than derived from their anceſtors.

Such ſeems to be the diſpoſition of man, that whatever makes a diſtinction produces rivalry. England, before other cauſes of enmity were found, was diſturbed for ſome centuries by the conteſts of the northern and ſouthern counties; ſo that at Oxford, the peace of ſtudy could for a long time be preſerved only by chuſing annually one of the Proctors from each ſide of the Trent. A tract interſected by many ridges of mountains, naturally divides its inhabitants into petty nations, which are made by a thouſand cauſes enemies to each other. Each will exalt its own chiefs, each will boaſt the valour of its men, or the beauty of its women, and every claim of ſuperiority irritates competition; injuries will ſometimes be done, and be more injuriouſly defended; retaliation will ſometimes be attempted, and the debt exacted with too much intereſt.

In the Highlands it was a law, that if a robber was ſheltered from juſtice, any man of the ſame clan might be taken in his place. This was a kind of irregular juſtice, which, though neceſſary in ſavage times, could hardly fail to end in a feud, and a feud once kindled among an idle people with no variety of purſuits to divert their thoughts, burnt on for ages, either ſullenly glowing in ſecret miſchief, or openly blazing into public violence. Of the effects of this violent judicature, there are not wanting memorials. The cave is now to be ſeen to which one of the Campbells, who had injured the Macdonalds, retired with a body of his own clan. The Macdonalds required the offender, and being refuſed, made a fire at the mouth of the cave, by which he and his adherents were ſuffocated together.

Mountaineers are warlike, becauſe by their feuds and competitions they conſider themſelves as ſurrounded with enemies, and are always prepared to repel incurſions, or to make them. Like the Greeks in their unpoliſhed ſtate, deſcribed by Thucydides,

cydides, the Highlanders, till lately, went always armed, and carried their weapons to viſits, and to church.

Mountaineers are thieviſh, becauſe they are poor, and having neither manufactures nor commerce, can grow richer only by robbery. They regularly plunder their neighbours, for their neighbours are commonly their enemies; and having loſt that reverence for property, by which the order of civil life is preſerved, ſoon conſider all as enemies, whom they do not reckon as friends, and think themſelves licenſed to invade whatever they are not obliged to protect.

By a ſtrict adminiſtration of the laws, ſince the laws have been introduced into the Highlands, this diſpoſition to thievery is very much repreſt. Thirty years ago no herd had ever been conducted through the mountains, without paying tribute in the night, to ſome of the clans; but cattle are now driven, and paſſengers travel without danger, fear, or moleſtation.

Among a warlike people, the quality of higheſt eſteem is perſonal courage, and with the oſtentatious diſplay of courage are cloſely connected promptitude of offence and quickneſs of reſentment. The Highlanders, before they were diſarmed, were ſo addicted to quarrels, that the boys uſed to follow any public proceſſion or ceremony, however feſtive or however ſolemn, in expectation of the battle, which was ſure to happen before the company diſperſed.

Mountainous regions are ſometimes ſo remote from the ſeat of government, and ſo difficult of acceſs, that they are very little under the influence of the ſovereign, or within the reach of national juſtice. Law is nothing without power; and the ſentence of a diſtant court could not be eaſily executed, nor perhaps very ſafely promulgated, among men ignorantly proud and habitually violent, unconnected with the general ſyſtem, and accuſtomed to reverence only their own lords. It has, therefore, been neceſſary to erect many particular juriſdictions, and commit the puniſhment of crimes, and the deciſion of right, to the proprietors of the country who could enforce their own decrees. It immediately appears that ſuch judges will be often ignorant, and often partial; but in the immaturity of political eſtabliſhments no better expedient could be found. As government advances towards perfection, provincial judicature is perhaps in every empire gradually aboliſhed.

Thoſe who had thus the diſpenſation of law, were by conſequence themſelves lawleſs. Their vaſſals had no ſhelter from outrages and oppreſſions; but were condemned to endure, without reſiſtance, the caprices of wantonneſs, and the rage of cruelty.

In the Highlands, ſome great lords had an hereditary juriſdiction over counties; and ſome chieftains over their own lands; till the final conqueſt of the Highlands afforded an opportunity of cruſhing all the local courts, and of extending the general benefits of equal law to the low and the high, in the deepeſt receſſes and obſcureſt corners.

While the chiefs had this reſemblance of royalty, they had little inclination to appeal, on any queſtion, to ſuperior judicatures. A claim of lands between two powerful lairds was decided like a conteſt for dominion between ſovereign powers. They drew up their forces into the field, and right attended on the ſtrongeſt. This was, in ruder times, the common practice, which the kings of Scotland could ſeldom controul.

Even ſo lately as in the laſt years of King William, a battle was fought at Mull Roy, on a plain a few miles to the ſouth of Inverneſs, between the clans of Mackintoſh and Macdonald of Keppoch. Colonel Macdonald, the h[illegible]d of a ſmall clan, refuſed to pay the dues demanded from him by Mackintoſh, as his ſuperior lord. They diſdained the interpoſition of judges and laws, and calling each his followers to maintain the dignity of the clan, fought a formal battle, in which ſeveral conſiderable men fell on the ſide of Mackintoſh, without a complete victory to either. This is ſaid to have been the laſt open war made between the clans by their own authority.

The Highland lords made treaties, and formed alliances, of which ſome traces may ſtill be found, and ſome conſequences ſtill remain as laſting evidences of petty regality. The terms of one of theſe confederacies were, that each ſhould ſupport the other in the right, or in the wrong, except againſt the king.

The inhabitants of mountains form diſtinct races, and are careful to preſerve their genealogies. Men in a ſmall diſtrict neceſſarily mingle blood by intermarriages, and combine at laſt into one family, with a common intereſt in the honour and diſgrace of every individual. Then begins that union of affections, and co-operation of endeavours, that conſtitute a clan. They who conſider themſelves as ennobled by their family, will think highly of their progenitors, and they who through ſucceſſive generations live always together in the ſame place, will preſerve local ſtories and hereditary prejudices. Thus every Highlander can talk of his anceſtors, and recount the outrages which they ſuffered from the wicked inhabitants of the next valley.

Such are the effects of habitation among mountains, and ſuch were the qualities of the Highlanders, while their rocks ſecluded them from the reſt of mankind, and kept them an unaltered and diſcriminated race. They are now loſing their diſtinction, and haſtening to mingle with the general community.

GLENELG.

We left Auknaſheals and the Macraes in the afternoon, and in the evening came to Ratiken, a high hill on which a road is cut, but ſo ſteep and narrow, that it is very difficult. There is now a deſign of making another way round the bottom. Upon one of the precipices, my horſe, weary with the ſteepneſs of the riſe, ſtaggered a little, and I called in haſte to the Highlander to hold him. This was the only moment of my journey in which I thought myſelf endangered.

Having ſurmounted the hill at laſt, we were told that at Glenelg, on the ſea-ſide, we ſhould come to a houſe of lime, and ſlate, and glaſs. This image of magnificence raiſed our expectation. At laſt we came to our inn weary and peeviſh, and began to inquire for meat and beds.

Of the proviſions the negative catalogue was very copious. Here was no meat, no milk, no bread, no eggs, no wine. We did not expreſs much ſatisfaction. Here, however, we were to ſtay. Whiſky we might have, and I believe, at laſt, they caught a fowl and killed it. We had ſome bread, and with that we prepared ourſelves to be contented, when we had a very eminent proof of Highland hoſpitality. Along ſome miles of the way, in the evening, a gentleman's ſervant had kept us company on foot with very little notice on our part. He left us near Glenelg, and we thought on him no more till he came to us again, in about two hours, with a preſent from his maſter of rum and ſugar. The man had mentioned his company, and the gentleman, whoſe name, I think, is Gordon, well knowing the penury of the place, had this attention to two men, whoſe names, perhaps, he had not heard, by whom his kindneſs was not likely to be ever repaid, and who could be recommended to him only by their neceſſities.

We were now to examine our lodging. Out of one of the beds, on which we were to repoſe, ſtarted up, at our entrance, a man black as a Cyclops from the forge. Other circumſtances of no elegant recital concurred to diſguſt us. We had been frighted by a lady at Edinburgh, with diſcouraging repreſentations of Highland lodgings. Sleep, however, was neceſſary. Our Highlanders had at laſt found ſome hay, with which the inn could not ſupply them. I directed them to bring a bundle into the room, and ſlept upon it in my riding coat. Mr Boſwell being more delicate, laid himſelf in ſheets with hay over and under him, and lay like a gentleman.

SKY. ARMIDEL.

In the morning, September the twentieth, we found ourſelves on the edge of the ſea. Having procured a boat, we diſmiſſed our Highlanders, whom I would recommend to the ſervice of any future travellers, and were ferried over to the Iſle of Sky. We landed at Armidel, where we were met on the ſands by Sir Alexander Macdonald, who was at that time there with his lady, preparing to leave the iſland and reſide at Edinburgh.

Armidel is a neat houſe, built where the Macdonalds had once a ſeat, which was burnt in the commotions that followed the Revolution. The walled orchard, which belonged to the former houſe, ſtill remains. It is well ſhaded by tall aſh trees, of a ſpecies, as Mr Janes the foſſiliſt informed me, uncommonly valuable. This plantation is very properly mentioned by Dr Campbell, in his new account of the ſtate of Britain, and deſerves attention; becauſe it proves that the preſent nakedneſs of the Hebrides is not wholly the fault of Nature.

As we ſat at Sir Alexander's table, we were entertained, according to the ancient uſage of the North, with the melody of the bagpipe. Every thing in thoſe countries has its hiſtory. As the bagpiper was playing, an elderly gentleman informed us, that in ſome remote time, the Macdonalds of Glengary having been injured, or offended by the inhabitants of Culloden, and reſolving to have juſtice or vengeance, came to Culloden on a Sunday, where finding their enemies at worſhip, they ſhut them up in the church, which they ſet on fire; and this, ſaid he, is the tune that the piper played while they were burning.

Narrations like this, however uncertain, deſerve the notice of a traveller, becauſe they are the only records of a nation that has no hiſtorians, and afford the moſt genuine repreſentation of the life and character of the ancient Highlanders.

Under the denomination of Highlander are comprehended in Scotland all that now ſpeak the Erſe language, or retain the primitive manners, whether they live among the mountains or in the iſlands; and in that ſenſe I uſe the name, when there is not ſome apparent reaſon for making a diſtinction.

In Sky I firſt obſerved the uſe of brogues, a kind of artleſs ſhoes, ſtitched with thongs ſo looſely, that though they defend the foot from ſtones, they do not exclude water. Brogues were formerly made of raw hides, with the hair inwards, and ſuch are perhaps ſtill uſed in rude and remote parts; but they are ſaid not to laſt above two days. Where life is ſomewhat improved, they are now made of leather tanned with oak bark, as in other places, or with the bark of birch, or roots of tormentil, a ſubſtance recommended in defect of bark, about forty years ago, to the Iriſh tanners, by one to whom the parliament of that kingdom voted a reward. The leather of Sky is not completely penetrated by vegetable matter, and therefore cannot be very durable.

My inquiries about brogues gave me an early ſpecimen of Highland information. One day I was told, that to make brogues was a domeſtick art, which every man practiſed for himſelf, and that a pair of brogues was the work of an hour.

I ſuppoſed that the huſband made brogues as the wife made an apron, till next day it was told me, that a brogue-maker was a trade, and that a pair would coſt half a crown. It will eaſily occur that theſe repreſentations may both be true, and that, in ſome places, men may buy them, and in others, make them for themſelves; but I had both the accounts in the ſame houſe within two days.

Many of my ſubſequent inquiries upon more intereſting topicks ended in the like uncertainty. He that travels in the Highlands may eaſily ſaturate his ſoul with intelligence, if he will acquieſce in the firſt account. The Highlander gives to every queſtion an anſwer ſo prompt and peremptory, that ſcepticiſm itſelf is dared into ſilence, and the mind ſinks before the bold reporter in unreſiſting credulity; but if a ſecond queſtion be ventured, it breaks the enchantment; for it is immediately diſcovered, that what was told ſo confidently was told at hazard, and that ſuch fearleſſneſs of aſſertion was either the ſport of negligence, or the refuge of ignorance.

If individuals are thus at variance with themſelves, it can be no wonder that the accounts of different men are contradictory. The traditions of an ignorant and ſavage people have been for ages negligently heard, and unſkilfully related. Diſtant events muſt have been mingled together, and the actions of one man given to another. Theſe, however, are deficiences in ſtory, for which no man is now to be cenſured. It were enough, if what there is yet opportunity of examining were accurately inſpected, and juſtly repreſented; but ſuch is the laxity of Highland converſation, that the inquirer is kept in continual ſuſpenſe, and by a kind of intellectual retrogradation, knows leſs as he hears more.

In the iſlands the plaid is rarely worn. The law by which the Highlanders have been obliged to change the form of their dreſs, has, in all the places that we have viſited, been univerſally obeyed.

I have ſeen only one gentleman completely clothed in the ancient habit, and by him it was worn only occaſionally and wantonly. The common people do not think themſelves under any legal neceſſity of having coats; for they ſay that the law againſt plaids was made by Lord Hardwicke, and was in force only for his life: but the ſame poverty that made it then difficult for them to change their clothing, hinders them now from changing it again.

The fillibeg, or lower garment, is ſtill very common, and the bonnet almoſt univerſal; but their attire is ſuch as produces, in a ſufficient degree, the effect intended by the law, of aboliſhing the diſſimilitude of appearance between the Highlanders and the other inhabitants of Britain; and, if dreſs be ſuppoſed to have much influence, facilitates their coalition with their fellow-ſubjects.

What we have long uſed we naturally like, and therefore the Highlanders were unwilling to lay aſide their plaid, which yet to an unprejudiced ſpectator muſt appear an incommodious and cumberſome dreſs; for hanging looſe upon the body, it muſt flutter in a quick motion, or require one of the hands to keep it cloſe. The Romans always laid aſide the gown when they had any thing to do. It was a dreſs ſo unſuitable to war, that the ſame word which ſignified a gown ſignified peace. The chief uſe of a plaid ſeems to be this, that they could commodiouſly wrap themſelves in it when they were obliged to ſleep without a better cover.

In our paſſage from Scotland to Sky, we were wet for the firſt time with a ſhower. This was the beginning of the Highland winter, after which we were told that a ſucceſſion of three dry days was not to be expected for many months. The winter of the Hebrides conſiſts of little more than rain and wind. As they are ſurrounded by an ocean never frozen, the blaſts that come to them over the water are too much ſoftened to have the power of congelation. The ſalt loughs, or inlets of the ſea, which ſhoot very far into the iſland, never have any ice upon them, and the pools of freſh water will never bear the walker. The ſnow that ſometimes falls, is ſoon diſſolved by the air, or the rain.

This is not the deſcription of a cruel climate, yet the dark months are here a time of great diſtreſs;

becauſe the ſummer can do little more than feed itſelf, and winter comes with its cold and its ſcarcity upon families very ſlenderly provided.

CORIATACHAN IN SKY.

The third or fourth day after our arrival at Armidel, brought us an invitation to the iſle of Raaſay, which lies eaſt of Sky. It is incredible how ſoon the account of any event is propagated in theſe narrow countries by the love of talk, which much leiſure produces, and the relief given to the mind in the penury of inſular converſation by a new topick. The arrival of ſtrangers at a place ſo rarely viſited, excites rumour, and quickens curioſity. I know not whether we touched at any corner, where Fame had not already prepared us a reception.

To gain a commodious paſſage to Raaſay, it was neceſſary to paſs over a large part of Sky. We were furniſhed therefore with horſes and a guide. In the iſlands there are no roads, nor any marks by which a ſtranger may find his way. The horſeman has always at his ſide a native of the place, who by purſuing game, or tending cattle, or being often employed in meſſages or to conduct, has learned where the ridge of the hill has breadth ſufficient to allow a horſe and his rider a paſſage, and where the moſs or bog is hard enough to bear them The bogs are avoided as toilſome at leaſt, if not unſafe, and therefore the journey is made generally from precipice to precipice; from which, if the eye ventures to look down, it ſees below a gloomy cavity, whence the ruſh of water is ſometimes heard.

But there ſeems to be in all this more alarm than danger. The Highlander walks carefully before, and the horſe, accuſtomed to the ground, follows him with little deviation. Sometimes the hill is too ſteep for the horſeman to keep his ſeat, and ſometimes the moſs is too tremulous to bear the double weight of horſe and man. The rider then diſmounts, and all ſhift as they can.

Journies made in this manner are rather tedious than long. A very few miles required ſeveral hours. From Armidel we came at night to Coriatachan, a houſe very pleaſantly ſituated between two brooks, with one of the higheſt hills of the iſland behind it. It is the reſidence of Mr Mackinnon, by whom we were treated with very liberal hoſpitality, among a more numerous and elegant company than it could have been ſuppoſed eaſy to collect.

The hill behind the houſe we did not climb, The weather was rough, and the height and ſteepneſs diſcouraged us. We were told that there is a cairne upon it. A cairne is a heap of ſtones thrown upon the grave of one eminent for dignity of birth, or ſplendour of atchievements. It is ſaid that by digging, an urn is always found under theſe cairnes: they muſt therefore have been thus piled by a people whoſe cuſtom was to burn the dead. To pile ſtones is, I believe, a northern cuſtom, and to burn the body was the Roman practice; nor do I know when it was that theſe two acts of ſepulture were united.

The weather was next day too violent for the continuation of our journey; but we had no reaſon to complain of the interruption. We ſaw in every place, what we chiefly deſired to know, the manners of the people. We had company, and, if we had choſen retirement, we might have had books.

I never was in any houſe of the Iſlands, where I did not find books in more languages than one, if I ſtaid long enough to want them, except one from which the family was removed. Literature is not neglected by the higher rank of the Hebridians.

It need not, I ſuppoſe, be mentioned, that in countries ſo little frequented as the Iſlands, there are no houſes where travellers are entertained for money. He that wanders about theſe wilds, either procures recommendations to thoſe whoſe habitations lie near his way, or, when night and wearineſs come upon him, takes the chance of general hoſpitality. If he finds only a cottage, he can expect little more than ſhelter, for the cottagers have little more for themſelves: but if his good fortune brings him to the reſidence of a gentleman, he will be glad of a ſtorm to prolong his ſtay. There is, however, one inn by the ſea ſide at Sconſor, in Sky, where the poſt-office is kept.

At the tables where a ſtranger is received, neither plenty nor delicacy is wanting. A tract of land ſo thinly inhabited, muſt have much wild-fowl; and I ſcarcely remember to have ſeen a dinner without them. The moorgame is every where to be had. That the ſea abounds with fiſh, needs not be told, for it ſupplies a great part of Europe. The iſle of Sky has ſtags and roebucks, but no hares. They ſell very numerous droves of oxen yearly to England, and therefore cannot be ſuppoſed to want beef at home. Sheep and goats are in great numbers, and they have the common domeſtick fowls.

But as here is nothing to be bought, every family muſt kill its own meat, and roaſt part of it ſomewhat ſooner than Apicius would preſcribe. Every kind of fleſh is undoubtedly excelled by the variety and emulation of Engliſh markets; but that which is not beſt may be yet very far from bad, and he that ſhall complain of his fare in the Hebrides, has improved his delicacy more than his manhood.

Their fowls are not like thoſe plumped for ſale by the poulterers of London, but they are as good as other places commonly afford, except that the geeſe, by feeding in the ſea, have univerſally a fiſhy rankneſs.

Theſe geeſe ſeem to be of a middle race, between the wild and domeſtick kinds. They are ſo tame as to own a home, and ſo wild as ſometimes to fly quite away.

Their native bread is made of oats, or barley. Of oatmeal they ſpread very thin cakes, coarſe and hard, to which unaccuſtomed palates are not eaſily reconciled. The barley cakes are thicker and ſofter; I began to eat them without unwillingneſs; the blackneſs of their colour raiſes ſome diſlike, but the taſte is not diſagreeable. In moſt houſes there is wheat flour, with which we were ſure to be treated, if we ſtaid long enough to have it kneaded and baked. As neither yeaſt nor leaven are uſed among them, their bread of every kind is unfermented. They make only cakes, and never mould a loaf.

A man of the Hebrides, for of the women's diet I can give no account, as ſoon as he appears in the morning, ſwallows a glaſs of whiſky; yet they are not a drunken race, at leaſt I never was preſent at much intemperance; but no man is ſo abſtemious us to refuſe the morning dram, which they call a Skalk.

The word Whiſky ſignifies water, and is applied by way of eminence to ſtrong water, or diſtilled liquor. The ſpirit drunk in the north is drawn from barley. I never taſted it, except once for experiment at the inn in Inverary, when I thought it preferable to any Engliſh malt brandy. It was ſtrong, but not pungent, and was free from the empyreumatick taſte or ſmell. What was the proceſs I had no opportunity of inquiring, nor do I wiſh to improve the art of making poiſon pleaſant.

Not long after the dram, may be expected the breakfaſt; a meal in which the Scots, whether of the lowlands or mountains, muſt be confeſſed to excel us. The tea and coffee are accompanied not only with butter, but with honey, conſerves, and marmalades. If an epicure could remove by a wiſh, in queſt of ſenſual gratifications, wherever he had ſupped, he would breakfaſt in Scotland.

In the Iſlands however, they do what I found it not very eaſy to endure. They pollute the tea-table by plates piled with large ſlices of Cheſhire cheeſe, which mingles its leſs grateful odours with the fragrance of the tea.

Where many queſtions are to be aſked, ſome will be omitted. I forgot to inquire how they were ſupplied with ſo much exotic luxury. Perhaps the French may bring them wine for wool, and the Dutch give them tea and coffee at the fiſhing ſeaſon, in exchange for freſh proviſion. Their trade is unconſtrained; they pay no cuſtoms; for there is no officer to demand them; whatever therefore is made dear only by impoſt, is obtained here at an eaſy rate.

A dinner in the Weſtern Iſlands differs very little from a dinner in England, except that in the place of tarts, there are always ſet different preparations of milk. This part of their diet will admit ſome improvement. Though they have milk, and eggs, and ſugar, few of them know how to compound them in a cuſtard. Their gardens afford them no great variety, but they have always ſome vegetables on the table. Potatoes at leaſt are never wanting, which, though they have not known them long, are now one of the principal parts of their food. They are not of the mealy, but the viſcous kind.

Their more elaborate cookery, or made diſhes, an Engliſhman at the firſt taſte is not likely to approve, but the culinary compoſitions of every country are often ſuch as become grateful to other nations only by degrees; though I have read a French author, who, in the elation of his heart, ſays, that French cookery pleaſes all foreigners, but foreign cookery never ſatisfies a Frenchman.

Their ſuppers are, like their dinners, various and plentiful. The table is always covered with elegant linen. Their plates for common uſe are often of that kind of manufacture which is called cream coloured, or queen's ware. They uſe ſilver on all occaſions where it is common in England, nor did I ever find the ſpoon of horn, but in one houſe.

The knives are not often either very bright, or very ſharp. They are indeed inſtruments of which the Highlanders have not been long acquainted with the general uſe. They were not regularly laid on the table, before the prohibition of arms, and the change of dreſs. Thirty years ago the

Highlander wore his knife as a companion to his dirk or dagger, and when the company ſat down to meat, the men who had knives cut the fleſh into ſmall pieces for the women, who with their fingers conveyed it to their mouths.

There was perhaps never any change of national manners ſo quick, ſo great, and ſo general, as that which has operated in the Highlands, by the laſt conqueſt, and the ſubſequent laws. We came thither too late to ſee what we expected,—a people of peculiar appearance, and a ſyſtem of antiquated life. The clans retain little now of their original character; their ferocity of temper is ſoftened, their military ardour is extinguiſhed, their dignity of independence is depreſſed, their contempt of government ſubdued, and their reverence for their chiefs abated. Of what they had before the late conqueſt of their country, there remain only their language and their poverty. Their language is attacked on every ſide. Schools are erected, in which Engliſh only is taught, and there were lately ſome who thought it reaſonable to refuſe them a verſion of the holy ſcriptures, that they might have no monument of their mother-tongue.

That their poverty is gradually abated, cannot be mentioned among the unpleaſing conſequences of ſubjection. They are now acquainted with money, and the poſſibility of gain will by degrees make them induſtrious. Such is the effect of the late regulations, that a longer journey than to the

Highlands muſt be taken by him whoſe curioſity pants for ſavage virtues and barbarous grandeur.

RAASAY.

At the firſt intermiſſion of the ſtormy weather we were informed, that the boat, which was to convey us to Raaſay, attended us on the coaſt. We had from this time our intelligence facilitated, and our converſation enlarged, by the company of Mr Macqueen, miniſter of a pariſh in Sky, whoſe knowledge and politeneſs give him a title equally to kindneſs and reſpect, and who, from this time, never forſook us till we were preparing to leave Sky, and the adjacent places.

The boat was under the direction of Mr Malcolm Macleod, a gentleman of Raaſay. The water was calm, and the rowers were vigorous; ſo that our paſſage was quick and pleaſant. When we came near the iſland, we ſaw the laird's houſe, a neat modern fabrick, and found Mr Macleod, the proprietor of the iſland, with many gentlemen, expecting us on the beach. We had, as at all other places, ſome difficulty in landing. The craggs were irregularly broken, and a falſe ſtep would have been very miſchievous.

It ſeemed that the rocks might, with no great labour, have been hewn almoſt into a regular flight of ſteps; and as there are no other landing places, I conſidered this rugged aſcent as the conſequence of a form of life inured to hardſhips, and therefore not ſtudious of nice accommodations. But I know not whether, for many ages, it was not conſidered as a part of military policy, to keep the country not eaſily acceſſible. The rocks are natural fortifications, and an enemy climbing with difficulty, was eaſily deſtroyed by thoſe who ſtood high above him.

Our reception exceeded our expectations. We found nothing but civility, elegance, and plenty. After the uſual refreſhments, and the uſual converſation, the evening came upon us. The carpet was then rolled off the floor; the muſician was called, and the whole company was invited to dance, nor did ever fairies trip with greater alacrity. The general air of feſtivity, which predominated in this place, ſo far remote from all thoſe regions which the mind has been uſed to contemplate as the manſions of pleaſure, ſtruck the imagination with a delightful ſurpriſe, analogous to that which is felt at an unexpected emerſion from darkneſs into light.

When it was time to ſup, the dance ceaſed, and ſix and thirty perſons ſat down to two tables in the ſame room. After ſupper the ladies ſung Erſe ſongs, to which I liſtened as an Engliſh audience to an Italian opera, delighted with the ſound of words which I did not underſtand.

I inquired the ſubjects of the ſongs, and was told of one, that it was a love ſong, and of another,

ther, that it was a farewell compoſed by one of the Iſlanders that was going, in this epidemical fury of emigration, to ſeek his fortune in America. What ſentiments would riſe, on ſuch an occaſion, in the heart of one who had not been taught to lament by precedent, I ſhould gladly have known; but the lady, by whom I ſat, thought herſelf not equal to the work of tranſlating.

Mr Macleod is the proprietor of the iſlands of Raaſay, Rona, and Fladda, and poſſeſſes an extenſive diſtrict in Sky. The eſtate has not, during four hundred years, gained or loſt a ſingle acre. He acknowledges Macleod of Dungevan as his chief, though his anceſtors have formerly diſputed the pre-eminence.

One of the old Highland alliances has continued for two hundred years, and is ſtill ſubſiſting between Macleod of Raaſay and Macdonald of Sky, in conſequence of which, the ſurviver always inherits the arms of the deceaſed; a natural memorial of military friendſhip. At the death of the late Sir James Macdonald, his ſword was delivered to the preſent laird of Raaſay.

The family of Raaſay conſiſts of the laird, the lady, three ſons, and ten daughters. For the ſons there is a tutor in the houſe, and the lady is ſaid to be very ſkilful and diligent in the education of her girls. More gentleneſs of manners, or a more pleaſing appearance of domeſtic ſociety, is not found in the moſt poliſhed countries.

Raaſay is the only inhabited iſland in Mr Macleod's poſſeſſion. Rona and Fladda afford only paſture for cattle, of which one hundred and ſixty winter in Rona, under the ſuperintendance of a ſolitary herdſman.

The length of Raaſay is, by computation, fifteen miles, and the breadth two. Theſe countries have never been meaſured, and the computation by miles is negligent and arbitrary. We obſerved in travelling, that the nominal and real diſtance of places had very little relation to each other. Raaſay probably contains near a hundred ſquare miles.

It affords not much ground, notwithſtanding its extent, either for tillage, or paſture; for it is rough, rocky, and barren. The cattle often periſh by falling from the precipices. It is like the other iſlands, I think, generally naked of ſhade, but it is naked by neglect; for the laird has an orchard, and very large foreſt trees grow about his houſe. Like other hilly countries, it has many rivulets. One of the brooks turns a corn-mill, and at leaſt one produces trouts.

In the ſtreams or freſh lakes of the iſlands, I have never heard of any other fiſh than trouts and eels. The trouts, which I have ſeen, are not large; the colour of their fleſh is tinged as in England. Of their eels I can give no account, having never taſted them; for I believe they are not conſidered as wholeſome food.

It is not very eaſy to fix the principles upon which mankind have agreed to eat ſome animals, and reject others; and as the principle is not evident, it is not uniform. That which is ſelected as delicate in one country, is by its neighbours abhorred as loathſome. The Neapolitans lately refuſed to eat potatoes in a famine. An Engliſhman is not eaſily perſuaded to dine on ſnails with an Italian, on frogs with a Frenchman, or on horſeflesh with a Tartar. The vulgar inhabitants of Sky, I know not whether of the other iſlands, have not only eels, but pork and bacon in abhorrence, and accordingly I never ſaw a hog in the Hebrides, except one at Dunvegan.

Raaſay has wild fowl in abundance, but neither deer, hares, nor rabbits. Why it has them not may be aſked, but that of ſuch queſtions there is no end. Why does any nation want what it might have? Why are not ſpices tranſplanted to America? Why does tea continue to be brought from China? Life improves, but by ſlow degrees, and much in every place is yet to do. Attempts have been made to raiſe roebucks in Raaſay, but without effect. The young ones it is extremely difficult to rear, and the old can very ſeldom be taken alive.

Hares and rabbits might be more eaſily obtained. That they have few or none of either in Sky, they impute to the ravage of the foxes, and have therefore ſet, for ſome years paſt, a price upon their heads, which, as the number was diminiſhed ed, has been gradually raiſed, from three ſhillings and ſixpence to a guinea; a ſum ſo great in this part of the world, that, in a ſhort time, Sky may be as free from foxes, as England from wolves. The fund for theſe rewards is a tax of ſixpence in the pound, impoſed by the farmers on themſelves, and ſaid to be paid with great willingneſs.

The beaſts of prey in the iſlands are foxes, otters, and weaſels. The foxes are bigger than thoſe of England; but the otters exceed ours in a far greater proportion. I ſaw one at Armidel, of a ſize much beyond that which I ſuppoſed them ever to attain; and Mr Maclean, the heir of Col, a man of middle ſtature, informed me that he once ſhot an otter, of which the tail reached the ground when he held up the head to a level with his own. I expected the otter to have a foot peculiarly formed for the art of ſwimming; but upon examination, I did not find it differing much from that of a ſpaniel. As he preys in the ſea, he does little viſible miſchief, and is killed only for his fur. White otters are ſometimes ſeen.

In Raaſay they might have hares and rabbits, for they have no foxes. Some depredations, ſuch as were never made before, have cauſed a ſuſpicion that a fox has been lately landed in the iſland by ſpite or wantonneſs. This imaginary ſtranger has never yet been ſeen, and therefore, perhaps, the miſchief was done by ſome other animal. It is not likely, that a creature ſo ungentle, whoſe head could have been ſold in Sky for a guinea, ſhould be kept alive only to gratify the malice of ſending him to prey upon a neighbour: and the paſſage from Sky is wider than a fox would venture to ſwim, unleſs he were chaſed by dogs into the ſea, and perhaps then his ſtrength would enable him to croſs. How beaſts of prey came into any iſlands is not eaſy to gueſs. In cold countries, they take advantage of hard winters, and travel over the ice: but this is a very ſcanty ſolution; for they are found where they have no diſcoverable means of coming.

The corn of this iſland is but little. I ſaw the harveſt of a ſmall field. The women reaped the corn, and the men bound up the ſheaves. The ſtrokes of the ſickle were timed by the modulation of the harveſt ſong, in which all their voices were united. They accompany in the Highlands every action, which can be done in equal time, with an appropriated ſtrain; which has, they ſay, not much meaning but its effects are regularity and chearfulneſs. The ancient proceleuſmatick ſong, by which the rowers of gallies were animated, may be ſuppoſed to have been of this kind. There is now an oar-ſong uſed by the Hebridians.

The ground of Raaſay ſeems fitter for cattle than for corn, and of black cattle, I ſuppoſe the number is very great; the Laird himſelf keeps a herd of four hundred, one hundred of which are annually ſold. Of an extenſive domain, which he holds in his own hands, he conſiders the ſale of cattle as repaying him the rent, and ſupports the plenty of a very liberal table with the remaining product.

Raaſay is ſuppoſed to have been very long inhabited. On one ſide of it they ſhow caves, into which the rude nations of the firſt ages retreated from the weather. Theſe dreary vaults might have had other uſes. There is ſtill a cavity near the houſe called the *oar-cave*, in which the ſeamen, after one of theſe piratical expeditions, which in rougher times were very frequent, uſed, as tradition tells, to hide their oars. This hollow was near the ſea, that nothing neceſſary might be far to be fetched; and it was ſecret, that enemies, if they landed, could find nothing. Yet, it is not very evident of what uſe it was to hide their oars from thoſe who, if they were maſters of the coaſt, could take away their boats.

A proof much ſtronger of the diſtance at which the poſſeſſors of this iſland lived from the preſent time, is afforded by the ſtone heads of arrows which are very frequently picked up. The people call them *Elf-bolts*, and believe that the fairies ſhoot them at the cattle. They nearly reſemble thoſe which Mr Banks has lately brought from the ſavage countries in the Pacific Ocean, and muſt have been made by a nation to which the uſe of metals was unknown.

The number of this little community has never been counted by its ruler, nor have I obtained any poſitive account, conſiſtent with the reſult of political computation. Not many years ago, the late Laird led out one hundred men upon a military expedition. The ſixth part of a people is ſuppoſed capable of bearing arms: Raaſay had therefore ſix hundred inhabitants. But becauſe it is not likely that every man able to ſerve in the field would follow the ſummons, or that the chief would leave his lands totally defenceleſs, or take away all the hands qualified for labour, let it be ſuppoſed, that half as many might be permitted to ſtay at home. The whole number will then be nine hundred, or nine to a ſquare mile; a degree of populouſneſs greater than thoſe tracts of deſolation can often ſhow. They are content with their country, and faithful to their chiefs, and yet uninfected with the fever of migration.

Near the houſe, at Raaſay, is a chapel unroofed and ruinous, which has long been uſed only as a place of burial. About the churches, in the iſlands, are ſmall ſquares incloſed with ſtone, which belong to particular families, as repoſitories for the dead. At Raaſay there is one, I think, for the proprietor, and one for ſome collateral houſe.

It is told by Martin, that at the death of the Lady of the iſland, it has been here the cuſtom to erect a croſs. This we found not to be true. The ſtones that ſtand about the chapel at a ſmall diſtance, ſome of which have perhaps croſſes cut upon them, are believed to have been not funeral monuments, but the ancient boundaries of the ſanctuary or conſecrated ground.

Martin was a man not illiterate: he was an inhabitant of Sky, and therefore was within reach of intelligence, and with no great difficulty might have viſited the places which he undertakes to deſcribe; yet with all his opportunities, he has often ſuffered himſelf to be deceived. He lived in the laſt century, when the chiefs of the clans had loſt little of their original influence. The mountains were yet unpenetrated, no inlet was opened to foreign novelties, and the feudal inſtitutions operated upon life with their full force. He might therefore have diſplayed a ſeries of ſubordination and a form of government, which in more luminous and improved regions, have been long forgotten, and have delighted his readers with many uncouth cuſtoms that are now diſuſed, and wild opinions that prevail no longer. But he probably had not knowledge of the world ſufficient to qualify him for judging what would deſerve or gain the attention of mankind. The mode of life which was familiar to himſelf, he did not ſuppoſe unknown to others, nor imagined that he could give pleaſure by telling that of which it was, in his little country, impoſſible to be ignorant.

What he has neglected cannot now be performed. In nations, where there is hardly the uſe of letters, what is once out of ſight is loſt for ever. They think but little, and of their few thoughts, none are waſted on the paſt, in which they are neither intereſted by fear nor hope. Their only regiſters are ſtated obſervances and practical repreſentations. For this reaſon an age of ignorance is an age of ceremony. Pageants, and proceſſions, and commemorations, gradually ſhrink away, as better methods come into uſe of recording events, and preſerving rights.

It is not only in Raaſay that the chapel is unroofed and uſeleſs; through the few iſlands which we viſited, we neither ſaw nor heard of any houſe of prayer, except in Sky, that was not in ruins. The malignant influence of Calviniſm has blaſted ceremony and decency together; and if the remembrance of papal ſuperſtition is obliterated, the monuments of papal piety are likewiſe effaced.

It has been, for many years, popular to talk of the lazy devotion of the Romiſh clergy; over the ſleepy lazineſs of men that erected churches, we may indulge our ſuperiority with a new triumph, by comparing it with the fervid activity of thoſe who ſuffer them to fall.

Of the deſtruction of churches, the decay of religion muſt in time be the conſequence; for while the public acts of the miniſtry are now performed in houſes, a very ſmall number can be preſent; and as the greater part of the iſlanders make no uſe of books, all muſt neceſſarily live in total ignorance who want the opportunity of vocal inſtruction.

From theſe remains of ancient ſanctity, which are every where to be found, it has been conjectured, that, for the laſt two centuries, the inhabitants of the iſlands have decreaſed in number.—This argument, which ſuppoſes that the churches have been ſuffered to fall, only becauſe they were no longer neceſſary, would have ſome force, if the houſes of worſhip ſtill remaining were ſufficient for the people. But ſince they have now no churches at all, theſe venerable fragments do not prove the people of former times to have been more numerous, but to have been more devout. If the inhabitants were doubled with their preſent principles, it appears not that any proviſion for public worſhip would be made.

Where the religion of a country enforces conſecrated buildings, the number of thoſe buildings may be ſuppoſed to afford ſome indication, however uncertain, of the populouſneſs of the place; but where by a change of manners a nation is contented to live without them, their decay implies no diminution of inhabitants.

Some of theſe dilapidations are ſaid to be found in iſlands now inhabited; but I doubt whether we can thence infer that they were ever peopled. The religion of the middle age is well known to have placed too much hope in lonely auſterities. Voluntary ſolitude was the great art of propitiation, by which crimes were effaced, and conſcience was appeaſed; it is therefore not unlikely, that oratories were often built in places where retirement was ſure to have no diſturbance.

Raaſay has little that can detain a traveller, except the laird and his family; but their power wants no auxiliaries. Such a ſeat of hoſpitality, amidſt the winds and waters, fills the imagination with a delightful contrariety of images—without is the rough ocean and the rocky land, the beating billows and the howling ſtorm: within is plenty and elegance, beauty and gaiety, the ſong and the dance. In Raaſay, if I could have found an Ulyſſes, I had fancied a Phæacia.

DUNVEGAN.

At Raaſay, by good fortune, Macleod, ſo the chief of the clan is called, was paying a viſit, and by him we were invited to his ſeat at Dunvegan. Raaſay has a ſtout boat, built in Norway, in which, with ſix oars, he conveyed us back to Sky. We landed at Port Re, ſo called, becauſe James the fifth of Scotland, who had the curioſity to viſit the iſlands, came into it.

The port is made by an inlet of the ſea, deep and narrow, where a ſhip lay waiting to diſpeople Sky, by carrying the natives away to America.

In coaſting Sky, we paſſed by the cavern in which it is the cuſtom, as Martin relates, to catch birds in the night, by making a fire at the entrance.

This practice is diſuſed; for the birds, as is known often to happen, have changed their haunts.

Here we dined at a public houſe, I believe the only inn of the iſland, and having mounted our horſes, travelled in the manner already deſcribed, till we came to Kingſborough, a place diſtinguiſhed by that name, becauſe the King lodged here when he landed at Port Re. We were entertained with the uſual hoſpitality by Mr Macdonald and his lady Flora Macdonald, a name that will be mentioned in hiſtory, and, if courage and fidelity be virtues, mentioned with honour. She is a woman of middle ſtature, ſoft features, gentle manners, and elegant preſence.

In the morning we ſent our horſes round a promontory to meet us, and ſpared ourſelves part of the day's fatigue, by croſſing an arm of the ſea. We had at laſt ſome difficulty in coming to Dunvegan: for our way led over an extenſive moor, where every ſtep was to be taken with caution, and we were often obliged to alight, becauſe the ground could not be truſted. In travelling this watery flat, I perceived that it had a viſible declivity, and might without much expence or difficulty be drained. But difficulty and expence are relative terms, which have different meanings in different places.

To Dunvegan we came, very willing to be at reſt; and found our fatigue amply recompenſed by our reception. Lady Macleod, who had lived many years in England, was newly come hither with her ſon and four daughters, who knew all the arts of ſouthern elegance, and all the modes of Engliſh economy. Here therefore we ſettled, and did not ſpoil the preſent hour with thoughts of departure.

Dunvegan is a rocky prominence, that juts out into a bay, on the weſt ſide of Sky. The houſe, which is the principal ſeat of Macleod, is partly old, and partly modern; it is built upon the rock, and looks upon the water. It forms two ſides of a ſmall ſquare: on the third ſide is the ſkeleton of a caſtle of unknown antiquity, ſuppoſed to have been a Norwegian fortreſs, when the Danes were maſters of the iſlands. It is ſo nearly entire, that it might have eaſily been made habitable, were there not an ominous tradition in the family, that the owner ſhall not long outlive the reparation.

The grandfather of the preſent Laird, in defiance of prediction, began the work, but deſiſted in a little time, and applied his money to worſe uſes.

As the inhabitants of the Hebrides lived for many ages, in continual expectation of hoſtilities, the chief of every clan reſided in a fortreſs. This houſe was acceſſible only from the water, till the laſt poſſeſſor opened an entrance by ſtairs upon the land.

They had formerly reaſon to be afraid, not only of declared wars and authoriſed invaders, or of roving pirates, which, in the northern ſeas, muſt have been very common; but of inroads and inſults from rival clans, who, in the plenitude of feudal independence, aſked no leave of their Sovereign to make war on one another. Sky has been ravaged by a feud between the two mighty powers of Macdonald and Macleod. Macdonald having married a Macleod, upon ſome diſcontent diſmiſſed her, perhaps becauſe ſhe had brought him no children. Before the reign of James the Fifth, a Highland Laird made a trial of his wife for a certain time, and if ſhe did not pleaſe him, he was then at liberty to ſend her away. This, however, muſt always have offended, and Macleod reſenting the injury, whatever were its circumſtances, declared, that the wedding had been ſolemnized without a bonfire, but that the ſeparation ſhould be better illuminated; and raiſing a little army ſet fire to the territories of Macdonald, who returned the viſit and prevailed.

Another ſtory may ſhow the diſorderly ſtate of inſular neighbourhood. The inhabitants of the Iſle of Egg, meeting a boat manned by Macleods, tied the crew hand and foot, and ſet them a-drift. Macleod landed upon Egg, and demanded the offenders; but the inhabitants refuſing to ſurrender them, retreated to a cavern, into which they thought their enemies unlikely to follow them. Macleod choked them with ſmoke, and left them lying dead by families as they ſtood.

Here the violence of the weather confined us for ſome time, not at all to our diſcontent or inconvenience. We would indeed very willingly have viſited the iſlands which might be ſeen from the houſe ſcattered in the ſea, and I was particularly deſirous to have viewed Iſay; but the ſtorms did not permit us to launch a boat, and we were condemned to liſten in idleneſs to the wind, except when we were better engaged by liſtening to the ladies.

We had here more winds than waves, and ſuffered the ſeverity of the tempeſt, without enjoying its magnificence. The ſea being broken by the multitude of iſlands, does not roar with ſo much noiſe, nor beat the ſtorm with ſuch foamy violence, as I have remarked on the coaſt of Suſſex. Though, while I was in the Hebrides, the wind was extremely turbulent, I never ſaw very high billows. The country about Dunvegan is rough and barren. There are no trees, except in the orchard, which is a low ſheltered ſpot ſurrounded with a wall.

When this houſe was intended to ſuſtain a ſiege, a well was made in the court, by boring the rock downwards, till water was found, which, though ſo near to the ſea, I have not heard mentioned as brackiſh, though it has ſome hardneſs, or other qualities, which make it leſs fit for uſe; and the family is now better ſupplied from a ſtream, which runs by the rock, from two pleaſing waterfalls.

Here we ſaw ſome traces of former manners, and heard ſome ſtanding traditions. In the houſe is kept an ox's horn, hollowed ſo as to hold perhaps two quarts, which the heir of Macleod was expected to ſwallow at one draught, as a teſt of his manhood, before he was permitted to bear arms, or could claim a ſeat among the men. It is held the return of the Laird to Dunvegan, after any conſiderable abſence, produces a plentiful capture of herrings, and that, if any woman croſſes the water to the oppoſite iſland, the herrings will deſert the coaſt. Boetius tells the ſame of ſome other place. This tradition is not uniform. Some hold that no woman may paſs, and others that none may paſs but a Macleod.

Among other gueſts which the hoſpitality of Dunvegan brought to the table, a viſit was paid by the Laird and Lady of a ſmall iſland ſouth of Sky, of which the proper name is *Muack*, which ſignifies *Swine*.

It is commonly called *Muck*, which the proprietor not liking, has endeavoured, without effect, to change to *Monk*. It is uſual to call gentlemen in Scotland by the name of their poſſeſſions, as Raaſay, Bernera, Loch Buy; a practice neceſſary in countries inhabited by clans, where all that live in the ſame territory have one name, and muſt be therefore diſcriminated by ſome addition. This gentleman, whoſe name, I think, is Maclean, ſhould be regularly called *Muck*; but the appellation, which he thinks to be too coarſe for his iſland, he would like ſtill leſs for himſelf, and he is therefore addreſſed by the title of, Iſle of Muck.

This little iſland, however it be named, is of conſiderable value. It is two Engliſh miles long, and three quarters of a mile broad, and conſequently contains only nine hnndred and ſixty Engliſh acres. It is chiefly arable. Half of this little dominion, the Laird retains in his own hand, and on the other half lived one hundred and ſixty perſons, who pay their rent by expoſed corn. What rent they pay, we were not told, and could not decently enquire.

The Laird having all his people under his imediate view, ſeems to be very attentive to their happineſs. The devaſtation of the ſmall-pox, when it viſits places where it comes ſeldom, is well known. He has diſarmed it of its terrour at Muack, by inoculating eighty of its people. The expence was two ſhillings and ſix-pence a-head. Many trades they cannot have among them, but upon occaſion he fetches a ſmith from the Iſle of Egg, and has a tailor from the main land, ſix times a-year. This iſland well deſerved to be ſeen, but the Laird's abſence left us no opportunity.

Every inhabited iſland has its appendant and ſubordinate iſlets. Muck, however ſmall, has yet other ſmaller about it, one of which has only ground ſufficient to afford paſture for three wethers.

At Dunvegan I had taſted lotus, and was in danger of forgetting that I was ever to depart, till Mr Boſwell ſagely reproached me with my ſluggiſhneſs and ſoftneſs. I had no very forcible defence to make; and we agreed to purſue our journey. Macleod accompanied us to Uliniſh, where we were entertained by the ſheriff of the iſland.

ULINISH.

Mr Macqueen travelled with us, and directed our attention to all that was worthy of obſervation. With him we went to ſee an ancient building, called a dun or borough. It was a circular encloſure, about forty-two feet in diameter, walled round with looſe ſtones, perhaps to the height of nine feet. The walls are very thick, diminiſhing a little towards the top, and though in theſe countries ſtone is not brought far, muſt have been raiſed with much labour. Within the great circle were ſeveral ſmaller rounds of wall, which formed diſtinct apartments. Its date and its uſe are unknown. Some ſuppoſe it the original ſeat of the chiefs of the Macleods. Mr Macqueen thought it a Daniſh fort.

The entrance is covered with flat ſtones, and is narrow, becauſe it was neceſſary that the ſtones which lie over it, ſhould reach from one wall to the other , yet, ſtrait as the paſſage is, they ſeem heavier than could have been placed where they now lie, by the naked ſtrength of as many men as might ſtand about them. They were probably raiſed by putting long pieces of wood under them, to which the action of a long line of lifters might be applied. Savages, in all countries, have patience proportionate to their unſkilfulneſs, and are content to attain their end by very tedious methods.

If it was ever roofed, it might once have been a dwelling, but as there is no proviſion for water, it could not have been a fortreſs. In Sky, as in every other place, there is an ambition of exalting whatever has ſurvived memory, to ſome important uſe, and referring it to very remote ages. I am inclined to ſuſpect, that in lawleſs times, when the inhabitants of every mountain ſtole the cattle of their neighbour, theſe encloſures were uſed to ſecure the herds and flocks in the night. When they were driven within the wall, they might be eaſily watched, and defended as long as could be needful ; for the robbers durſt not wait till the injured clan ſhould find them in the morning.

The interior encloſures, if the whole building were once a houſe, were the chambers of the chief inhabitants. If it was a place of ſecurity for cattle, they were probably the ſhelters of the keepers, From the Dun we were conducted to another place of ſecurity, a cave carried a great way under ground, which had been diſcovered by digging after a fox. Theſe caves, of which many have been found, and many probably remain concealed, are formed, I believe, commonly by taking advantage of a hollow, where banks or rocks riſe on either ſide. If no ſuch place can be found, the ground muſt be cut away. The walls are made by piling ſtones againſt the earth, on either ſide. It is then roofed by larger ſtones laid acroſs the cavern, which therefore cannot be wide. Over the roof, turfs were placed, and graſs was ſuffered to grow; and the mouth was concealed by buſhes, or ſome other cover.

Theſe caves were repreſented to us as the cabins of the firſt rude inhabitants, of which, however, I am by no means perſuaded. This was ſo low, that no man could ſtand upright in it. By their conſtruction they are all ſo narrow, that two can never paſs along them together, and being ſubterraneous, they muſt be always damp. They are not the work of an age much ruder than the preſent; for they are formed with as much art as the conſtruction of a common hut requires. I imagine them to have been places only of occaſional uſe, in which the iſlander, upon a ſudden alarm, hid his utenſils, or his clothes, and perhaps ſometimes his wife and children.

This cave we entered, but could not proceed the whole length, and went away without knowing how far it was carried. For this omiſſion we ſhall be blamed, as we perhaps have blamed other travellers; but the day was rainy, and the ground was damp. We had with us neither ſpades nor pickaxes, and if love of eaſe ſurmounted our deſire of knowledge, the offence has not the invidiouſneſs of ſingularity.

Edifices, either ſtanding or ruined, are the chief records of an illiterate nation. In ſome part of this journey, at no great diſtance from our way, ſtood a ſhattered fortreſs, of which the learned miniſter, to whoſe communication we are much indebted, gave us an account.

Thoſe, ſaid he, are the walls of a place of refuge, built in the time of James the Sixth, by Hugh Macdonald, who was next heir to the dignity and fortune of his chief. Hugh, being ſo near his wiſh, was impatient of delay; and had art and influence ſufficient to engage ſeveral gentlemen in a plot againſt the Laird's life. Something muſt be ſtipulated on both ſides; for they would not dip their hands in blood merely for Hugh's advancement. The compact was formally written, ſigned by the conſpirators, and placed in the hands of one Macleod.

It happened that Macleod had ſold ſome cattle to a drover, who not having ready money, gave him a bond for payment. The debt was diſcharged, and the bond re-demanded; which Macleod, who could not read, intending to put into his hands, gave him the conſpiracy. The drover, when he had read the paper, delivered it privately to Macdonald, who being thus informed of his danger, called his friends together, and provided for his ſafety. He made a public feaſt, and inviting Hugh Macdonald and his confederates, placed each of them at the table between two men of known fidelity. The compact of conſpiracy was then ſhewn, and every man confronted with his own name. Macdonald acted with great moderation. He upbraided Hugh, both with diſloyalty and ingratitude; but told the reſt, that he conſidered them as men deluded and miſinformed. Hugh was ſworn to fidelity, and diſmiſſed with his companions; but he was not generous enough to be reclaimed by lenity; and finding no longer any countenance among the gentlemen, endeavoured to execute the ſame deſign by meaner hands. In this practice he was detected, taken to Macdonald's caſtle, and impriſoned in the dungeon. When he was hungry, they let down a plentiful meal of ſalted meat; and when, after his repaſt, he called for drink, conveyed to him a covered cup, which, when he lifted the lid, he found empty. From that time they viſited him no more, but left him to periſh in ſolitude and darkneſs.

We were then told of a cavern by the ſea-ſide, remarkable for the powerful reverberation of ſounds. After dinner we took a boat, to explore this curious cavity. The boatmen, who ſeemed to be of a rank above that of common drudges, inquired who the ſtrangers were, and being told we came one from Scotland, and the other from England, aſked if the Engliſhman could recount a long genealogy. What anſwer was given them, the converſation being in Erſe, I was not much inclined to examine.

They expected no good event of the voyage; for one of them declared that he heard the cry of an Engliſh ghoſt. This omen I was not told till after our return, and therefore cannot claim the dignity of deſpiſing it.

The ſea was ſmooth. We never left the ſhore, and came without any diſaſter to the cavern, which we found rugged and miſhapen, about one hundred and eighty feet long, thirty wide in the broadeſt part, and in the loftieſt, as we gueſſed, about thirty high. It was now dry, but at high water the ſea riſes in it near ſix feet. Here I ſaw what I had never ſeen before, limpets and muſſels in their natural ſtate. But, as a new teſtimony to the veracity of common fame, here was no echo to be heard.

We then walked through a natural arch in the rock, which might have pleaſed us by its novelty, had the ſtones, which encumbered our feet, given us leiſure to conſider it. We were ſhown the gummy ſeed of the kelp, that faſtens itſelf to a ſtone, from which it grows into a ſtrong ſtalk.

In our return, we found a little boy upon the point of a rock, catching with his angle, a ſupper for the family. We rowed up to him, and borrowed his rod, with which Mr Boſwell caught a cuddy.

The cuddy is a fiſh of which I know not the philoſophical name. It is not much bigger than a gudgeon, but is of great uſe in theſe Iſlands, as it affords the lower people both food and oil for their lamps. Cuddies are ſo abundant, at ſome times of the year, that they are caught like white-bait in the Thames, only by dipping a baſket and drawing it back.

If it were always practicable to fiſh, theſe Iſlands could never be in much danger from famine; but unhappily in the winter, when other proviſion fails, the ſeas are commonly too rough for nets, or boats.

TALISKER IN SKY.

From Uliniſh, our next ſtage was to Taliſker, the houſe of colonel Macleod, an officer in the Dutch ſervice, who in this time of univerſal peace, has for ſeveral years been permitted to be abſent from his regiment. Having been bred to phyſic, he is conſequently a ſcholar, and his lady, by accompanying him in his different places of reſidence, is become ſkilful in ſeveral languages. Taliſker is the place beyond all that I have ſeen, from which the gay and the jovial ſeem utterly excluded; and where the hermit might expect to grow old in meditation, without poſſibility of diſturbance or interruption. It is ſituated very near the ſea, but upon a coaſt where no veſſel lands but when it is driven by a tempeſt on the rocks. Towards the land are lofty hills ſtreaming with water-falls. The garden is ſheltered by firs, or pines, which grow there ſo proſperouſly, that ſome, which the preſent inhabitant planted, are very high and thick.

At this place we very happily met Mr Donald Maclean, a young gentleman, the eldeſt ſon of the Laird of Col, heir to a very great extent of land, and ſo deſirous of improving his inheritance, that he ſpent a conſiderable time among the farmers of Hertfordſhire, and Hampſhire, to learn their practice. He worked with his own hands at the principal operations of agriculture, that he might not deceive himſelf by a falſe opinion of ſkill, which if he ſhould find it deficient at home, he had no means of completing. If the world has agreed to praiſe the travels and manual labours of the Czar of Muſcovy, let Col have his ſhare of the like applauſe, in the proportion of his dominions to the empire of Ruſſia.

This young gentleman was ſporting in the mountains of Sky, and when he was weary with following his game, repaired for lodging to Taliſker. At night he miſſed one of his dogs, and when he went to ſeek him in the morning, found two eagles feeding on his carcaſe.

Col, for he muſt be named by his poſſeſſions, hearing that our intention was to viſit Jona, offered to conduct us to his chief, Sir Allan Maclean, who lived in the iſle of Inch Kenneth, and would readily find us a convenient paſſage. From this time was formed an acquaintance, which being begun by kindneſs, was accidentally continued by conſtraint; we derived much pleaſure from it, and I hope have given him no reaſon to repent it.

The weather was now almoſt one continued ſtorm, and we were to ſnatch ſome happy intermiſſion to be conveyed to Mull, the third iſland of the Hebrides, lying about a degree ſouth of Sky, whence we might eaſily find our way to Inch Kenneth, where Sir Allan Maclean reſided, and afterward to Jona.

For this purpoſe, the moſt commodious ſtation that we could take was Armidel, which Sir Alexander Macdonald had now left to a gentleman, who lived there as his factor or ſteward.

In our way to Armidel, was Coriatachan, where we had already been, and to which therefore we were very willing to return. We ſtaid however ſo long at Taliſker, that a great part of our journey was performed in the gloom of the evening. In travelling even thus almoſt without light thro' naked ſolitude, when there is a guide whoſe conduct may be truſted, a mind not naturally too much diſpoſed to fear, may preſerve ſome degree of cheerfulneſs; but what muſt be the ſolicitude of him who ſhould be wandering, among the craggs and hollows, benighted, ignorant, and alone?

The fictions of the Gothick romances were not ſo remote from credibility as they are now thought. In the full prevalence of the feudal inſtitution, when violence deſolated the world, and every baron lived in a fortreſs, foreſts and caſtles were regularly ſucceeded by each other, and the adventurer might very ſuddenly paſs from the gloom of woods, or the ruggedneſs of moors, to ſeats of plenty, gaiety, and magnificence. Whatever is imaged in the wildeſt tale, if giants, dragons, and enchantment be excepted, would be felt by him, who, wandering in the mountains without a guide, or upon the ſea without a pilot, ſhould be carried, amidſt his terror and uncertainty, to the hoſpitality and elegance of Raaſay or Dunvegan.

To Coriatachan at laſt we came, and found ourſelves welcomed as before. Here we ſtaid two days, and made ſuch inquiries as curioſity ſuggeſted. The houſe was filled with company, among whom Mr Macpherſon and his ſiſter diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their politeneſs and accompliſhments. By him we were invited to Oſtig, a houſe not far from Armidel, where we might eaſily hear of a boat, when the weather would ſuffer us to leave the iſland.

OSTIG IN SKY.

At Oſtig, of which Mr Macpherſon is miniſter, we were entertained for ſome days, then removed to Armidel, where we finiſhed our obſervations on the iſland of Sky.

As this iſland lies in the fifty-ſeventh degree, the air cannot be ſuppoſed to have much warmth. The long continuance of the ſun above the horizon does indeed ſometimes produce a great heat in northern latitudes; but this can only happen in ſheltered places, where the atmoſphere is to a certain degree ſtagnant, and the ſame maſs of air continues to receive for many hours the rays of the ſun, and the vapours of the earth. Sky lies open on the weſt and north to a vaſt extent of ocean, and is cooled in the ſummer by perpetual ventilation, but by the ſame blaſts is kept warm in winter. Their weather is not pleaſing. Half the year is deluged with rain. From the autumnal to the vernal equinox, a dry day is hardly known, except when the ſhowers are ſuſpended by a tempeſt. Under ſuch ſkies can be expected no great exuberance of vegetation. Their winter overtakes their ſummer, and their harveſt lies upon the ground drenched with rain. The autumn ſtruggles hard to produce ſome of our early fruits. I gathered gooſeberries in September; but they were ſmall, and the huſk was thick.

Their winter is ſeldom ſuch as puts a full ſtop to the growth of plants, or reduces the cattle to live wholly on the ſurpluſage of the ſummer. In the year ſeventy-one they had a ſevere ſeaſon, remembered by the name of the Black Spring, from which the iſland has not yet recovered. The ſnow lay long upon the ground, a calamity hardly known before. Part of their cattle died for want, part were unſeaſonably ſold to buy ſuſtenance for the owners; and, what I have not read or heard of before, the kine that ſurvived were ſo emaciated and diſpirited, that they did not require the male at the uſual time. Many of the roebucks periſhed.

The ſoil, as in other countries, has its diverſities. In ſome parts there is only a thin layer of earth ſpread upon a rock, which bears nothing but ſhort brown heath, and perhaps is not generally capable of any better product. There are many bogs or moſſes of greater or leſs extent, where the ſoil cannot be ſuppoſed to want depth, though it is too wet for the plough. But we did not obſerve in theſe any aquatick plants. The vallies and the mountains are alike darkened with heath. Some graſs, however, grows here and there, and ſome happier ſpots of earth are capable of tillage.

Their agriculture is laborious, and perhaps rather feeble than unſkilful. Their chief manure is ſea-weed, which, when they lay it to rot upon the field, gives them a better crop than thoſe of the

Highlands.

Highlands. They heap ſea ſhells upon the dunghill, which in time moulder into a fertiliſing ſubſtance. When they find a vein of earth where they cannot uſe it, they dig it up, and add it to the mould of a more commodious place.

The corn grounds often lie in ſuch intricacies among the craggs, that there is no room for the action of a team and plough. The ſoil is then turned up by manual labour, with an inſtrument called a crooked ſpade, of a form and weight which to me appeared very incommodious, and would perhaps be ſoon improved in a country where workmen could be eaſily found and eaſily paid. It has a narrow blade of iron fixed to a long and heavy piece of wood, which muſt have, about a foot and a half above the iron, a knee or flexure with the angle downwards. When the farmer encounters a ſtone which is the great impediment of his operations, he drives the blade under it, and bringing the knee or angle to the ground, has in the long handle a very forcible lever.

According to the different mode of tillage, farms are diſtinguiſhed into long land and ſhort land. Long land is that which affords room for a plough, and ſhort land is turned up by the ſpade.

The grain which they commit to the furrows thus tediouſly formed, is either oats or barley. They do not ſow barley without very copious manure, and then they expect from it ten for one, an increaſe equal to that of better countries; but the culture is ſo operoſe that they content themſelves commonly with oats; and who can relate without compaſſion, that after all their diligence they are to expect only a triple increaſe? It is in vain to hope for plenty, when a third part of the harveſt muſt be reſerved for ſeed.

When their grain is arrived at the ſtate which they muſt conſider as ripeneſs, they do not cut, but pull the barley, to the oats they apply the ſickle. Wheel carriages they have none, but make a frame of timber, which is drawn by one horſe with the two points behind preſſing on the ground. On this they ſometimes drag home their ſheaves, but often convey them home in a kind of open panier, or frame of ſticks upon the horſe's back.

Of that which is obtained with ſo much difficulty, nothing ſurely ought to be waſted; yet their method of clearing their oats from the huſk is by parching them in the ſtraw. Thus with the genuine improvidence of ſavages, they deſtroy that fodder for want of which their cattle may periſh. From this practice they have two petty conveniencies. They dry the grain ſo that it is eaſily reduced to meal, and they eſcape the theft of the threſher. The taſte contracted from the fire by the oats, as by every other ſcorched ſubſtance, uſe muſt long ago have made grateful. The oats that are not parched muſt be dried in a kiln.

The barns of Sky I never ſaw. That which Macleod of Raaſay had erected near his houſe was

ſo

ſo contrived, becauſe the harveſt is ſeldom brought home dry, as by perpetual perflation to prevent the mow from heating.

Of their gardens I can judge only from their tables. I did not obſerve that the common greens were wanting, and ſuppoſe, that by chooſing an advantageous expoſition, they can raiſe all the more hardy eſculent plants. Of vegetable fragrance or beauty they are not yet ſtudious. Few vows are made to Flora in the Hebrides.

They gather a little hay, but the graſs is mown late; and is ſo often almoſt dry and again very wet, before it is houſed, that it becomes a collection of withered ſtalks without taſte or fragrance; it muſt be eaten by cattle that have nothing elſe, but by moſt Engliſh farmers would be thrown away.

In the iſlands I have not heard that any ſubterraneous treaſures have been diſcovered, though, where there are mountains, there are commonly minerals. One of the rocks in Col has a black vein, imagined to conſiſt of the ore of lead; but it was never yet opened or eſſayed. In Sky a black maſs was accidentally picked up, and brought into the houſe of the owner of the land, who found himſelf ſtrongly inclined to think it a coal, but unhappily it did not burn in the chimney. Common ores would be here of no great value; for what requires to be ſeparated by fire, muſt, if it were found, be carried away in its mineral ſtate, here being no fewel for the ſmelting-houſe or forge.

Perhaps by diligent ſearch in this world of ſtone, ſome valuable ſpecies of marble might be diſcovered. But neither philoſophical curioſity, nor commercial induſtry, have yet fixed their abode here, where the importunity of immediate want ſupplied but for the day, and craving on the morrow, has left little room for excurſive knowledge or the pleaſing fancies of diſtant profit.

They have lately found a manufacture conſiderably lucrative. Their rocks abound with kelp, a ſea-plant, of which the aſhes are melted into glaſs. They burn kelp in great quantities, and then ſend it away in ſhips, which come regularly to purchaſe them. This new ſource of riches has raiſed the rents of many maritime farms; but the tenants pay, like all other tenants, the additional rent with great unwillingneſs; becauſe they conſider the profits of the kelp as the mere product of perſonal labour, to which the landlord contributes nothing. However, as any man may be ſaid to give what he gives the power of gaining, he has certainly as much right to profit from the price of kelp as of any thing elſe found or raiſed upon his ground.

This new trade has excited a long and eager litigation between Macdonald and Macleod, for a ledge of rocks, which, till the value of kelp was known, neither of them deſired the reputation of poſſeſſing.

The cattle of Sky are not ſo ſmall as is commonly believed. Since they have ſent their beeves in great numbers to ſouthern marts, they have probably taken more care of their breed. At ſtated times the annual growth of cattle is driven to a fair, by a general drover, and with the money which he returns to the farmer, the rents are paid.

The price regularly expected, is from two to three pounds a head: there was once one ſold for five pounds. They go from the iſlands very lean, and are not offered to the butcher till they have been long fatted in Engliſh paſtures.

Of their black cattle, ſome are without horns, called by the Scots *humble* cows, as we call a bee an *humble* bee, that wants a ſting. Whether this difference be ſpecific, or accidental, though we enquired with great diligence, we could not be informed. We are not very ſure that the bull is ever without horns, though we have been told that ſuch bulls there are. What is produced by putting a horned and an unhorned male and female together, no man has ever tried, that thought the reſult worthy of obſervation.

Their horſes are, like their cows, of a moderate ſize. I had no difficulty to mount myſelf commodiouſly by the favour of the gentlemen. I heard of very little cows in Barra, and very little horſes in Rum, where, perhaps no care is taken to prevent that diminution of ſize, which muſt always happen, where the greater and leſs copulate promiſcumiſcuouſly, and the young animal is reſtrained from growth by penury of ſuſtenance.

The goat is the general inhabitant of the earth, complying with every difference of climate, and of ſoil. The goats of the Hebrides are like others: nor did I hear any thing of their ſheep to be particularly remarked.

In the penury of theſe malignant regions, nothing is left that can be converted to food. The goats and the ſheep are milked like cows. A ſingle meal of a goat is a quart, and of a ſheep a pint. Such, at leaſt, was the account, which I could extract from thoſe of whom I am not ſure that they ever had inquired.

The milk of goats is much thinner than that of cows, and that of ſheep is much thicker. Sheeps milk is never eaten before it is boiled: as it is thick, it muſt be very liberal of curd, and the people of St Kilda form it into ſmall cheeſes.

The ſtags of the mountains are leſs than thoſe of our parks, or foreſts, perhaps not bigger than our fallow deer. Their fleſh has no rankneſs, nor is inferior in flavour to our common veniſon. The roebuck, I neither ſaw nor taſted. Theſe are not countries for a regular chaſe. The deer are not driven with horn and hounds. A ſportſman, with his gun in his hand, watches the animal, and when he has wounded him, traces him by the blood.

They have a race of brinded greyhounds larger and ſtronger than thoſe with which we courſe hares, and thoſe are the only dogs uſed by them for the chaſe.

Man is by the uſe of fire-arms made ſo much an overmatch for other animals, that in all countries, where they are in uſe, the wild part of the creation ſenſibly diminiſhes. There will probably not be long either ſtags or roebucks in the iſlands. All the beaſts of chaſe would have been loſt long ago in countries well inhabited, had they not been preſerved by laws for the pleaſure of the rich.

There are in Sky neither rats nor mice, but the weaſel is ſo frequent, that he is heard in houſes rattling behind cheſts or beds, as rats in England. They probably owe to his predominance that they have no other vermin; for ſince the great rat took poſſeſſion of this part of the world, ſcarce a ſhip can touch at any port, but ſome of his race are left behind. They have within theſe few years began to infeſt the iſle of Col, where, being left by ſome trading veſſel, they have increaſed for want of weaſels to oppoſe them.

The inhabitants of Sky, and of the other iſlands, which I have ſeen, are commonly of the middle ſtature, with fewer among them very tall or very ſhort, than are ſeen in England, or perhaps, as their numbers are ſmall, the chances of any deviation from the common meaſure are neceſſarily few. The talleſt men that I ſaw among them are of the higher rank. In regions of barrenneſs and ſcarcity, the human race is hindered in its growth by the ſame cauſes as other animals.

The ladies have as much beauty here as in other places, but bloom and ſoftneſs are not to be expected among the lower claſſes, whoſe faces are expoſed to the rudeneſs of the climate, and whoſe features are ſometimes contracted by want, and ſometimes hardened by the blaſts. Supreme beauty is ſeldom found in cottages or work-ſhops, even where no real hardſhips are ſuffered. To expand the human face to its full perfection, it ſeems neceſſary that the mind ſhould co-operate by placidneſs of content, or conſciouſneſs of ſuperiority.

Their ſtrength is proportionate to their ſize, but they are accuſtomed to run upon rough ground, and therefore can with great agility ſkip over the bog, or clamber the mountain. For a campaign in the waſtes of America, ſoldiers better qualified could not have been found. Having little work to do, they are not willing, nor perhaps able to endure a long continuance of manual labour, and are therefore conſidered as habitually idle.

Having never been ſupplied with theſe accommodations, which life extenſively diverſified with trades affords, they ſupply their wants by very inſufficient ſhifts, and endure many inconveniencies, which a little attention would eaſily relieve. I have ſeen a horſe carrying home the harveſt on a crate. Under his tail was a ſtick for a crupper, held at the two ends by twiſts of ſtraw. Hemp will grow in their iſlands, and therefore ropes may be had. If they wanted hemp, they might make better cordage of ruſhes, or perhaps of nettles, than of ſtraw.

Their method of life neither ſecures them perpetual health, nor expoſes them to any particular diſeaſes. There are phyſicians in the iſlands, who I believe, all practiſe chirurgery, and all compound their own medicines.

It is generally ſuppoſed that life is longer in places where there are few opportunities of luxury; but I found no inſtance here of extraordinary longevity. A cottager grows old over his oaten cakes, like a citizen at a turtle feaſt. He is indeed ſeldom incommoded by corpulence. Poverty preſerves him from ſinking under the burden of himſelf, but he eſcapes no other injury of time. Inſtances of long life are often related, which thoſe who hear them are more willing to credit than examine. To be told that any man has attained a hundred years gives hope and comfort to him who ſtands trembling on the brink of his own climacterick.

Length of life is diſtributed impartially to very different modes of life in very different climates; and the mountains have no greater examples of age and health than the low lands, where I was introduced to two ladies of high quality; one of whom, in her ninety-fourth year, preſided at her table with the full exerciſe of all her powers; and the other has attained her eighty-fourth, without any diminution of vivacity, and with little reaſon to accuſe time with depredations on her beauty.

In the iſlands, as in moſt other places, the inhabitants are of different rank, and one does not encroach here upon another. Where there is no commerce nor manufacture, he that is born poor can ſcarcely become rich; and if none are able to buy eſtates, he that is born to land cannot annihilate his family by ſelling it. This was once the ſtate of theſe countries. Perhaps there is no example, till within a century and a half, of any family whoſe eſtate was alienated, otherwiſe than by violence or forfeiture. Since money has been brought amongſt them, they have found, like others, the art of ſpending more than they receive; and I ſaw with grief, the chief of a very ancient clan, whoſe iſland was condemned by law to be ſold for the ſatisfaction of his creditors.

The name of the higheſt dignity is Laird, of which there are in the extenſive Iſle of Sky only three, Macdonald, Macleod, and Mackinnon. The Laird is the original owner of the land, whoſe natural power muſt be very great, where no man lives but by agriculture; and where the produce of the land is not conveyed through the labyrinths of traffic, but paſſes directly from the hand that gathers it to the mouth that eats it. The Laird has all thoſe in his power that can live upon his farms.

Kings can, for the moſt part, only exalt or degrade. The Laird at pleaſure can feed or ſtarve, can give bread, or withhold it. This inherent power was yet ſtrengthened by the kindneſs of conſanguinity, and the reverence of patriarchal authority. The Laird was the father of the Clan, and his tenants commonly bore his name. And to theſe principles of original command was added, for many ages, an excluſive right of legal juriſdiction.

This multifarious, and extenſive obligation operated with force ſcarcely credible. Every duty, moral or political, was abſorbed in affection and adherence to the Chief. Not many years have paſſed ſince the clans knew no law but the Laird's will. He told them to whom they ſhould be friends or enemies, what king they ſhould obey, and what religion they ſhould profeſs.

When the Scots firſt roſe in arms againſt the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover, Lovat, the Chief of the Fraſers, was in exile for a rape. The Fraſers were very numerous, and very zealous againſt the government. A pardon was ſent to Lovat. He came to the Engliſh camp, and the clan immediately deſerted to him.

Next in dignity to the Laird is the Tackſman; a large taker or leaſe-holder of land, of which he keeps a part, as a domain in his own hand, and lets part to under-tenants. The tackſman is neceſſarily a man capable of ſecuring to the Laird the whole rent, and is commonly a collateral relation.

Theſe tacks, or ſubordinate poſſeſſions, were long conſidered as hereditary, and the occupant was diſtinguiſhed by the name of the place at which he reſided. He held a middle ſtation, by which the higheſt and the loweſt orders were connected. He paid rent and reverence to the Laird, and received them from the tenants. This tenure ſtill ſubſiſts, with its original operation, but not with the primitive ſtability. Since the iſlanders, no longer content to live, have learned the deſire of growing rich, an ancient dependent is in danger of giving way to a higher bidder, at the expence of domeſtic dignity and hereditary power. The ſtranger, whoſe money buys him preference, conſiders himſelf as paying for all that he has, and is indifferent about the Laird's honour or ſafety. The commodiouſneſs of money is indeed great; but there are ſome advantages which money cannot buy, and which therefore no wiſe man will by the love of money be tempted to forego.

I have found in the hither parts of Scotland, men not defective in judgment or general experience, who conſider the Tackſmen as a uſeleſs burden on the ground, as a drone who lives upon the product of an eſtate, without the right of property, or the merit of labour, and who impoveriſhes at once the landlord and the tenant. The land, ſay they, is let to the Tackſman at ſixpence an acre, and by him to the tenant at tenpence. Let the owner be the immediate landlord to all the tenants; if he ſets the ground at eightpence, he will increaſe his revenue by a fourth part, and the tenant's burden will be diminiſhed by a fifth.

Thoſe who purſue this train of reaſoning, ſeem not ſufficiently to inquire whither it will lead them, nor to know that it will equally ſhow the propriety of ſuppreſſing all wholeſale trade, of ſhutting up the ſhops of every man who ſells what he does not make, and of extruding all whoſe agency and profit intervene between the manufacturer and the conſumer. They may, by ſtretching their underſtandings a little wider, comprehend, that all thoſe who by undertaking large quantities of manufacture, and affording employment to many labourers, make themſelves conſidered as benefactors to the public, have only been robbing their workmen with one hand, and their cuſtomers with the other. If Crowly had ſold only what he could make, and all his ſmiths had wrought their own iron with their own hammers, he would have lived on leſs, and they would have ſold their work for more. The ſalaries of ſuperintendants and clerks would have been partly ſaved, and partly ſhared, and nails been ſometimes cheaper by a farthing in a hundred. But then if the ſmith could not have found an immediate purchaſer, he muſt have deſerted his anvil; if there had by accident been at any time more ſellers than buyers, the workmen muſt have reduced their profit to nothing, by underſelling one another; and as no great ſtock could have been in any hand, no ſudden demand of large quantities could have been anſwered, and the builder muſt have ſtood ſtill till the nailer could ſupply him.

According to theſe ſchemes, univerſal plenty is to begin and end in univerſal miſery. Hope and emulation will be utterly extinguiſhed; and as all muſt obey the call of immediate neceſſity, nothing that requires extenſive views, or provides for diſtant conſequences, will ever be performed.

To the ſouthern inhabitants of Scotland, the ſtate of the mountains and the iſlands is equally unknown with that of Borneo or Sumatra: Of both they have only heard a little, and gueſs the reſt. They are ſtrangers to the language and the manners, to the advantages and wants of the people, whoſe life they would model, and whoſe evils they would remedy.

Nothing is leſs difficult than to procure one convenience by the forfeiture of another. A ſoldier may expedite his march by throwing away his arms. To baniſh the Tackſman is eaſy, to make a country plentiful by diminiſhing the people, is an expeditious mode of huſbandry; but that abundance, which there is nobody to enjoy, contributes little to human happineſs.

As the mind muſt govern the hands, ſo in every ſociety the man of intelligence muſt direct the man of labour. If the Tackſmen be taken away, the Hebrides muſt in their preſent ſtate be given up to groſsneſs and ignorance; the tenant, for want of inſtruction, will be unſkilful; and for want of admonition, will be negligent. The Laird, in theſe wide eſtates, which often conſiſt of iſlands remote from one another, cannot extend his perſonal influence to all his tenants; and the ſteward having no dignity annexed to his character, can have little authority among men taught to pay reverence only to birth, and who regard the Tackſman as their hereditary ſuperior; nor can the ſteward have equal zeal for the proſperity of an eſtate profitable only to the Laird, with the Tackſman, who has the Laird's income involved in his own.

The only gentlemen in the iſlands are the Lairds, the Tackſmen, and the Miniſters, who frequently improve their livings by becoming farmers. If the Tackſmen be baniſhed, who will be left to impart knowledge, or impreſs civility? The Laird muſt always be at a diſtance from the greater part of his lands; and if he reſides at all upon them, muſt drag his days in ſolitude, having no longer either a friend or a companion; he will therefore depart to ſome more comfortable reſidence, and leave the tenants to the wiſdom and mercy of a factor.

Of tenants there are different orders, as they have greater or leſs ſtock. Land is ſometimes leaſed to a ſmall fellowſhip, who live in a cluſter of huts, called a Tenants Town, and are bound jointly and ſeparately for the payment of their rent. Theſe, I believe, employ in the care of their cattle, and the labour of tillage, a kind of tenants yet lower; who having a hut, with graſs for a certain number of cows and ſheep, pay their rent by a ſtipulated quantity of labour.

The condition of domeſtic ſervants, or the price of occaſional labour, I do not know with certainty. I was told that the maids have ſheep, and are allowed to ſpin for their own clothing; perhaps they have no pecuniary wages, or none but in very wealthy families. The ſtate of life, which has hitherto been purely paſtoral, begins now to be a little variegated with commerce; but novelties enter by degrees, and till one mode has fully prevailed over the other, no ſettled notion can be formed.

Such is the ſyſtem of inſular ſubordination, which, having little variety, cannot afford much delight in the view, nor long detain the mind in contemplation. The inhabitants were for a long time perhaps not unhappy; but their content was a muddy mixture of pride and ignorance, an indifference for pleaſures which they did not know, a blind veneration for their chiefs, and a ſtrong conviction of their own importance.

Their pride has been cruſhed by the heavy hand of a vindictive conqueror, whoſe ſeverities have been followed by laws, which, though they cannot be called cruel, have produced much diſcontent, becauſe they operate upon the ſurface of life, and make every eye bear witneſs to ſubjection. To be compelled to a new dreſs has always been found painful.

Their chiefs being now deprived of their juriſdiction, have already loſt much of their influence; and as they gradually degenerate from patriarchal rulers to rapacious landlords, they will diveſt themſelves of the little that remains.

That dignity which they derived from an opinion of their military importance, the law, which diſarmed them, has abated. An old gentleman, delighting himſelf with the recollection of better days, related, that forty years ago, a Chieftain walked out attended by ten or twelve followers, with their arms rattling. That animating rabble has now ceaſed. The Chief has loſt his formidable retinue; and the Highlander walks his heath unarmed and defenceleſs, with the peaceable ſubmiſſion of a French peaſant or Engliſh cottager.

Their ignorance grows every day leſs, but their knowledge is yet of little other uſe than to ſhew them their wants. They are now in the period of education, and feel the uneaſineſs of diſcipline, without yet perceiving the benefit of inſtruction.

The laſt law, by which the Highlanders are deprived of their arms, has operated with efficacy beyond expectation. Of former ſtatutes made with the ſame deſign, the execution had been feeble, and the effect inconſiderable. Concealment was undoubtedly practiſed, and perhaps often with connivance. There was tenderneſs or partiality on one ſide, and obſtinacy on the other. But the law, which followed the victory of Culloden, found the whole nation dejected and intimidated; informations were given without danger, and without fear, and the arms were collected with ſuch rigour, that every houſe was deſpoiled of its defence.

To diſarm part of the Highlands, could give no reaſonable occaſion of complaint. Every government muſt be allowed the power of taking away the weapon that is lifted againſt it. But the loyal clans murmured, with ſome appearance of juſtice, that after having defended the King, they were forbidden for the future to defend themſelves; and that the ſword ſhould be forfeited, which had been legally employed. Their caſe is undoubtedly hard, but in political regulations, good cannot be complete, it can only be predominant.

Whether by diſarming a people thus broken into ſeveral tribes, and thus remote from the ſeat of power, more good than evil has been produced, may deſerve inquiry. The ſupreme power in every community has the right of debarring every individual, and every ſubordinate ſociety from ſelf-defence, only becauſe the ſupreme power is able to defend them; and therefore where the governor cannot act, he muſt truſt the ſubject to act for himſelf. Theſe iſlands might be waſted with fire and ſword before their ſovereign would know their diſtreſs. A gang of robbers, ſuch as has been lately found confederating themſelves in the Highlands, might lay a wide region under contribution. The crew of a petty privateer might land on the largeſt and moſt wealthy of the iſlands, and riot without controul in cruelty and waſte. It was obſerved by one of the chiefs of Sky, that fifty armed men might, without reſiſtance, ravage the country. Laws that place the ſubjects in ſuch a ſtate, contravene the firſt principles of the compact of authority: they exact obedience, and yield no protection.

It affords a generous and manly pleaſure to conceive a little nation gathering its fruits and tending its herds with fearleſs confidence, though it lies open on every ſide to invaſion, where, in contempt of walls and trenches, every man ſleeps ſecurely with his ſword beſide him; where all, on the firſt approach of hoſtility, come together at the call to battle, as at a ſummons to a feſtal ſhow; and committing their cattle to the care of thoſe whom age or nature has diſabled, engage the enemy with that competition for hazard and for glory, which operate in men that fight under the eye of thoſe, whoſe diſlike or kindneſs they have always conſidered as the greateſt evil or the greateſt good.

This was, in the beginning of the preſent century, the ſtate of the Highlands. Every man was a ſoldier, who partook of national confidence, and intereſted himſelf in national honour. To loſe this ſpirit, is to loſe what no ſmall advantage will compenſate.

It may likewiſe deſerve to be inquired, whether a great nation ought to be totally commercial? whether amidſt the uncertainty of human affairs, too much attention to one mode of happineſs may not endanger others? whether the pride of riches muſt not ſometimes have recourſe to the protection of courage? and whether, if it be neceſſary to preſerve in ſome part of the empire the military ſpirit, it can ſubſiſt more commodiouſly in any place, than in remote and unprofitable provinces, where it can commonly do little harm, and whence it may be called forth at any ſudden exigence?

It muſt however be confeſſed, that a man, who places honour only in ſucceſsful violence, is a very troubleſome and pernicious animal in time of peace; and that the martial character cannot prevail in a whole people, but by the diminution of all other virtues. He that is accuſtomed to reſolve all right into conqueſt, will have very little tenderneſs or equity. All the friendſhip in ſuch a life can be only a confederacy of invaſion, or alliance of defence. The ſtrong muſt flouriſh by force, and the weak ſubſiſt by ſtratagem.

Till the Highlanders loſt their ferocity, with their arms, they ſuffered from each other all that malignity could dictate, or precipitance could act. Every provocation was revenged with blood, and no man that ventured into a numerous company, by whatever occaſion brought together, was ſure of returning without a wound. If they are now expoſed to foreign hoſtilities, they may talk of the danger, but can ſeldom feel it. If they are no longer martial, they are no longer quarrelſome. Miſery is cauſed for the moſt part, not by a heavy cruſh of diſaſter, but by the corroſion of leſs viſible evils, which canker enjoyment, and undermine ſecurity. The viſit of an invader is neceſſarily rare, but domeſtick animoſities allow no ceſſation.

The abolition of the local juriſdictions, which had for ſo many ages been exerciſed by the chiefs, has likewiſe its evil and its good. The feudal conſtitution naturally diffuſed itſelf into long ramifications of ſubordinate authority. To this general temper of the government was added the peculiar form of the country, broken by mountains into many ſubdiviſions ſcarcely acceſſible but to the natives, and guarded by paſſes, or perplexed with intricacies, through which national juſtice could not find its way.

The power of deciding controverſies, and of puniſhing offences, as ſome ſuch power there muſt always be, was entruſted to the lairds of the country, to thoſe whom the people conſidered as their natural judges. It cannot be ſuppoſed that a rugged proprietor of the rocks, unprincipled and unenlightened, was a nice reſolver of entangled claims, or very exact in proportioning puniſhment to offences. But the more he indulged his own will, the more he held his vaſſals in dependance. Prudence and innocence, without the favour of the chief, conferred no ſecurity; and crimes involved no danger, when the judge was reſolute to acquit.

When the chiefs were men of knowledge and virtue, the convenience of a domeſtick judicature was great. No long journies were neceſſary, nor artificial delays could be practiſed; the character, the alliances, and intereſts of the litigants were known to the court, and all falſe pretences were eaſily detected. The ſentence, when it was paſt, could not be evaded; the power of the Laird ſuperſeded formalities, and juſtice could not be defeated by intereſt or ſtratagem.

I doubt not but that ſince the regular judges have made their circuits through the whole country, right has been every where more wiſely, and more equally diſtributed; the complaint is, that litigation is grown troubleſome, and that the magiſtrates are too few, and therefore often too remote for general convenience.

Many of the ſmaller iſlands have no legal officer within them. I once aſked, If a crime ſhould be committed, by what authority the offender could be ſeized? and was told, that the Laird would exert his right; a right which he muſt now uſurp, but which ſurely neceſſity muſt vindicate, and which is therefore yet exerciſed in lower degrees, by ſome of the proprietors, when legal proceſſes cannot be obtained.

In all greater queſtions, however, there is now happily an end to all fear or hope from malice or from favour. The roads are ſecure in thoſe places through which, forty years ago, no traveller could paſs without a convoy. All trials of right by the ſword are forgotten, and the mean are in as little danger from the powerful as in other places. No ſcheme of policy has, in any country, yet brought the rich and poor on equal terms into courts of judicature. Perhaps experience, improving on experience, may in time effect it.

Thoſe who have long enjoyed dignity and power, ought not to loſe it without ſome equivalent. There was paid to the chiefs by the public, in exchange for their privileges, perhaps a ſum greater than moſt of them had ever poſſeſſed, which excited a thirſt for riches, of which it ſhewed them the uſe. When the power of birth and ſtation ceaſes, no hope remains but from the prevalence of money. Power and wealth ſupply the place of each other. Power confers the ability of gratifying our deſire without the conſent of others. Wealth enables us to obtain the conſent of others to our gratification. Power, ſimply conſidered, whatever it confers on one, muſt take from another. Wealth enables its owner to give to others, by taking only from himſelf. Power pleaſes the violent and proud: wealth delights the placid and the timorous. Youth therefore flies at power, and age grovels after riches.

The Chiefs, diveſted of their prerogatives, neceſſarily turn their thoughts to the improvement of their revenues, and expect more rent, as they have leſs homage. The tenant, who is far from perceiving that his condition is made better in the ſame proportion, as that of his landlord is made worſe, does not immediately ſee why his induſtry is to be taxed more heavily than before. He refuſes to pay the demand, and is ejected; the ground is then let to a ſtranger, who perhaps brings a larger ſtock, but who, taking the land at its full price, treats with the Laird upon equal terms, and conſiders him not as a Chief, but as a trafficker in land. Thus the eſtate perhaps is improved, but the clan is broken.

It ſeems to be the general opinion, that the rents have been raiſed with too much eagerneſs. Some regard muſt be paid to prejudice. Thoſe who have hitherto paid but little, will not ſuddenly be perſuaded to pay much, though they can afford it. As ground is gradually improved, and the value of money decreaſes, the rent may be raiſed without any diminution of the farmer's profits: yet it is neceſſary in theſe countries, where the ejection of a tenant is a greater evil than in more populous places, to conſider not merely what the land will produce, but with what ability the inhabitant can cultivate it. A certain ſtock can allow but a certain payment; for if the land be doubled, and the ſtock remains the ſame, the tenant becomes no richer. The proprietors of the Highlands might perhaps often increaſe their income, by ſubdividing the farms, and allotting to every occupier only ſo many acres as he can profitably employ, but that they want people.

There ſeems now, whatever be the cauſe, to be through a great part of the Highlands a general diſcontent. That adherence, which was lately profeſſed by every man to the chief of his name, has now little prevalence; and he that cannot live as he deſires at home, liſtens to the tale of fortunate iſlands, and happy regions, where every man may have land of his own, and eat the product of his labour without a ſuperior.

Thoſe who have obtained grants of American lands, have, as is well known, invited ſettlers from all quarters of the globe; and among other places, where oppreſſion might produce a wiſh for new habitations, their emiſſaries would not fail to try their perſuaſions in the iſles of Scotland, where, at the time when the clans were newly diſunited from their Chiefs, and exaſperated by unprecedented exactions, it is no wonder that they prevailed.

Whether the miſchiefs of emigration were immediately perceived, may be juſtly queſtioned. They who went firſt, were probably ſuch as could beſt be ſpared; but the accounts ſent by the earlieſt adventurers, whether true or falſe, inclined many to follow them; and whole neighbourhoods formed parties for removal; ſo that departure from their native country is no longer exile. He that goes thus accompanied, carries with him all that makes life pleaſant. He ſits down in a better climate, ſurrounded by his kindred and his friends: they carry with them their language, their opinions, their popular ſongs, and hereditary merriment: they change nothing but the place of their abode; and of that change they perceive the benefit.

This is the real effect of emigration, if thoſe that go away together ſettle on the ſame ſpot, and preſerve their ancient union. But ſome relate that theſe adventurous viſitants of unknown regions, after a voyage, paſſed in dreams of plenty and felicity, are diſperſed at laſt upon a ſylvan wilderneſs, where their firſt years muſt be ſpent in toil, to clear the ground which is afterwards to be tilled, and that the whole effect of their undertaking is only more fatigue and equal ſcarcity.

Both accounts may be ſuſpected. Thoſe who are gone will endeavour by every art to draw others after them; for as their numbers are greater, they will provide better for themſelves. When Nova Scotia was firſt peopled, I remember a letter, publiſhed under the character of a New Planter, who related how much the climate put him in mind of Italy. Such intelligence the Hebridians probably receive from their tranſmarine correſpondents. But with equal temptations of intereſt, and perhaps with no greater niceneſs of veracity, the owners of the iſlands ſpread ſtories of American hardſhips to keep their people content at home.

Some method to ſtop this epidemic deſire of wandering, which ſpreads its contagion from valley to valley, deſerves to be ſought with great diligence. In more fruitful countries, the removal of one, only makes room for the ſucceſſion of another: but in the Hebrides, the loſs of an inhabitant leaves a laſting vacuity; for nobody born in any other parts of the world will chooſe this country for his reſidence; and an iſland once depopulated will remain a deſert, as long as the preſent facility of travel gives every one, who is diſcontented and unſettled, the choice of his abode.

Let it be inquired, whether the firſt intention of thoſe who are fluttering on the wing, and collecting a flock that they may take their flight, be to attain good, or to avoid evil. If they are diſſatisfied with that part of the globe, which their birth has allotted them, and reſolve not to live without the pleaſures of happier climates; if they long for bright ſuns, and calm ſkies, and flowery fields, and fragrant gardens, I know not by what eloquence they can be perſuaded, or by what offers they can be hired to ſtay.

But if they are driven from their native country by poſitive evils, and diſguſted by ill-treatment, real or imaginary, it were fit to remove their grievances, and quiet their reſentment; ſince, if they have been hitherto undutiful ſubjects, they will not much mend their principles by American converſation.

To allure them into the army, it was thought proper to indulge them in the continuance of their national dreſs. If this conceſſion could have any effect, it might eaſily be made. That diſſimilitude of appearance, which was ſuppoſed to keep them diſtinct from the reſt of the nation, might diſincline them from coaleſcing with the Penſylvanians or people of Connecticut. If the reſtitution of their arms will reconcile them to their country, let them have again thoſe weapons, which will not be more miſchievous at home than in the Colonies. That they may not fly from the increaſe of rent, I know not whether the general good does not require that the landlords be, for a time, reſtrained in their demands, and kept quiet by penſions proportionate to their loſs.

To hinder inſurrection by driving away the people, and to govern peaceably, by having no ſubjects, is an expedient that argues no great profundity of politicks. To ſoften the obdurate, to convince the miſtaken, to mollify the reſentful, are worthy of a ſtateſman; but it affords a legiſlator little ſelf-applauſe to conſider, that where there was formerly an inſurrection, there is now a wilderneſs.

It has been a queſtion often agitated without ſolution, why thoſe northern regions are now ſo thinly peopled, which formerly overwhelmed with their armies the Roman empire. The queſtion ſuppoſes what I believe is not true, that they had once more inhabitants than they could maintain, and overflowed only becauſe they were full.

This is to eſtimate the manners of all countries and ages by our own. Migration, while the ſtate of life was unſettled, and there was little communication of intelligence between diſtant places, was among the wilder nations of Europe, capricious and caſual. An adventurous projector heard of a fertile coaſt unoccupied, and led out a colony; a chief of renown for bravery, called the young men together, and led them out to try what fortune would preſent. When Cæſar was in Gaul, he found the Helvetians preparing to go they knew not whither, and put a ſtop to their motions. They ſettled again in their own country, where they were ſo far from wanting room, that they had accumulated three years proviſion for their march.

The religion of the North was military; if they could not find enemies, it was their duty to make them: they travelled in queſt of danger, and willingly took the chance of empire or death. If their troops were numerous, the countries from which they were collected are of vaſt extent, and without much exuberance of people great armies may be raiſed where every man is a ſoldier. But their true numbers were never known. Thoſe who were conquered by them are their hiſtorians, and ſhame may have excited them to ſay, that they were overwhelmed with multitudes. To count is a modern practice, the ancient method was to gueſs; and when numbers are gueſſed they are always magnified.

Thus England has for ſeveral years been filled with the atchievements of ſeventy thouſand Highlanders employed in America. I have heard from an Engliſh officer, not much inclined to favour them, that their behaviour deſerved a very high degree of military praiſe; but their number has been much exaggerated. One of the miniſters told me, that ſeventy thouſand men could not have been found in all the Highlands, and that more than twelve thouſand never took the field. Thoſe that went to the American war went to deſtruction. Of the old Highland regiment, conſiſting of twelve hundred, only ſeventy-ſix ſurvived to ſee their country again.

The Gothic ſwarms have at leaſt been multiplied with equal liberality. That they bore no great proportion to the inhabitants, in whoſe countries they ſettled, is plain from the paucity of northern words now found in the provincial languages. Their country was not deſerted for want of room, becauſe it was covered with foreſts of vaſt extent; and the firſt effect of plenitude of inhabitants is the deſtruction of wood. As the Europeans ſpread over America, the lands are gradually laid naked.

I would not be underſtood to ſay, that neceſſity had never any part in their expeditions. A nation, whoſe agriculture is ſcanty or unſkilful, may be driven out by famine. A nation of hunters may have exhauſted their game. I only affirm that the northern regions were not, when their irruptions ſubdued the Romans, overpeopled with regard to their real extent of territory, and power of fertility. In a country fully inhabited, however afterward laid waſte, evident marks will remain of its former populouſneſs. But of Scandinavia and Germany, nothing is known, but that as we trace their ſtate upwards into antiquity, their woods were greater and their cultivated ground was leſs.

That cauſes very different from want of room may produce a general diſpoſition to ſeek another country is apparent from the preſent conduct of the Highlanders, who are in ſome places ready to threaten a total ſeceſſion. The numbers which have already gone, though like other numbers they may be magnified, are very great, and ſuch as if they had gone together and agreed upon any certain ſettlement, might have founded an independent government in the depths of the weſtern continent. Nor are they only the loweſt and moſt indigent; many men of conſiderable wealth have taken with them their train of labourers and dependents; and if they continue the feudal ſcheme of polity, may eſtabliſh new clans in the other hemiſphere.

That the immediate motives of their deſertion muſt be imputed to their landlords, may be reaſonably concluded, becauſe ſome Lairds of more prudence and leſs rapacity have kept their vaſſals undiminiſhed. From Raaſay only one man had been ſeduced, and at Col there was no wiſh to go away.

The traveller who comes hither from more opulent countries, to ſpeculate upon the remains of paſtoral life, will not much wonder that a common Highlander has no ſtrong adherence to his native ſoil; for of animal enjoyments, or of phyſical good, he leaves nothing that he may not find again whereſoever he may be thrown.

The habitations of men in the Hebrides may be diſtinguiſhed into huts and houſes. By a houſe, I mean a building with one ſtory over another; by a hut, a dwelling with only one floor. The Laird, who formerly lived in a caſtle, now lives in a houſe; ſometimes ſufficiently neat, but ſeldom very ſpacious or ſplendid. The tackſmen and the miniſters have commonly houſes. Wherever there is a houſe, the ſtranger finds a welcome, and to the other evils of exterminating tackſmen may be added the unavoidable ceſſation of hoſpitality, or the devolution of too heavy a burden on the miniſters.

Of the houſes little can be ſaid. They are ſmall, and by the neceſſity of accumulating ſtores, where there are ſo few opportunities of purchaſe, the rooms are very heterogeneouſly filled. With want of cleanlineſs it were ingratitude to reproach them. The ſervants having been bred upon the naked earth, think every floor clean, and the quick ſucceſſion of gueſts, perhaps not always over-elegant, does not allow much time for adjuſting their apartments.

Huts are of many gradations; from murky dens, to commodious dwellings.

The wall of a common hut is always built without mortar, by a ſkilful adaptation of looſe ſtones. Sometimes perhaps a double wall of ſtones is raiſed, and the intermediate ſpace filled with earth. The air is thus completely excluded. Some walls are, I think, formed of turfs, held together by a wattle, or texture of twigs. Of the meaneſt huts, the firſt room is lighted by the entrance, and the ſecond by the ſmoke-hole. The fire is uſually made in the middle. But there are huts, or dwellings, of only one ſtory, inhabited by gentlemen, which have walls cemented with mortar, glaſs windows, and boarded floors. Of theſe all have chimneys, and ſome chimneys have grates.

The houſe and the furniture are not always nicely ſuited. We were driven once, by miſſing a paſſage, to the hut of a gentleman, where, after a very liberal ſupper, when I was conducted to my chamber, I found an elegant bed of Indian cotton, ſpread with fine ſheets. The accommodation was flattering; I undreſſed myſelf, and found my feet in the mire. The bed ſtood upon the bare earth, which a long courſe of rain had ſoftened to a puddle.

In paſtoral countries the condition of the loweſt rank of people is ſufficiently wretched. Among manufacturers, men that have no property may have art and induſtry, which make them neceſſary, and therefore valuable. But where flocks and corn are the only wealth, there are always more hands than work, and of that work there is little in which ſkill and dexterity can be much diſtinguiſhed. He therefore who is born poor never can be rich. The ſon merely occupies the place of the father, and life knows nothing of progreſſion or advancement.

The petty tenants, and labouring peaſants, live in miſerable cabins, which afford them little more than ſhelter from the ſtorms. The Boor of Norway is ſaid to make all his own utenſils. In the Hebrides, whatever might be their ingenuity, the want of wood leaves them no materials. They are probably content with ſuch accommodations as ſtones of different forms and ſizes can afford them.

Their food is not better than their lodging. They ſeldom taſte the fleſh of land animals; for here are no markets. What each man eats is from his own ſtock. The great effect of money is to break property into ſmall parts. In towns, he that has a ſhilling may have a piece of meat; but where there is no commerce no man can eat mutton but by killing a ſheep.

Fiſh in fair weather they need not want; but, I believe, man never lives long on fiſh, but by conſtraint; he will rather feed upon roots and berries.

The only fewel of the iſlands is peat. Their wood is all conſumed, and coal they have not yet found. Peat is dug out of the marſhes, from the depth of one foot to that of ſix. That is accounted the beſt which is neareſt the ſurface. It appears to be a maſs of black earth held together by vegetable fibres. I know not whether the earth be bituminous, or whether the fibres be not the only combuſtible part; which, by heating the interpoſed earth red hot, make a burning maſs. The heat is not very ſtrong nor laſting. The aſhes are yellowiſh, and in a large quantity. When they dig peat, they cut it into ſquare pieces, and pile it up to dry beſide the houſe. In ſome places it has an offenſive ſmell. It is like wood charked for the ſmith. The common method of making peat fires, is by heaping it on the hearth; but it burns well in grates, and in the beſt houſes is ſo uſed.

The common opinion is, that peat grows again where it has been cut; which, as it ſeems to be chiefly a vegetable ſubſtance, is not unlikely to be true, whether known or not to thoſe who relate it.

There are water mills in Sky and Raaſay; but where they are too far diſtant, the houſe-wives grind their oats with a quern, or hand-mill, which conſiſts of two ſtones, about a foot and a half in diameter, the lower is a little convex, to which the concavity of the upper muſt be fitted. In the middle of the upper ſtone is a round hole, and on one ſide is a long handle. The grinder ſheds the corn gradually into the hole with one hand, and works the handle round with the other. The corn ſlides down the convexity of the lower ſtone, and by the motion of the upper is ground in its paſſage. Theſe ſtones are found in Lochaber.

The iſlands afford few pleaſures, except to the hardy ſportſman, who can tread the moor and climb the mountain. The diſtance of one family from another, in a country where travelling has ſo much difficulty, makes frequent intercourſe impracticable. Viſits laſt ſeveral days, and are commonly paid by water; yet I never ſaw a boat furniſhed with benches, or made commodious by any addition to the firſt fabrick. Conveniencies are not miſſed where they never were enjoyed.

The ſolace which the bagpipe can give, they have long enjoyed; but among other changes, which the laſt revolution introduced, the uſe of the bagpipe begins to be forgotten. Some of the chief families ſtill entertain a piper, whoſe office was anciently hereditary. Macrimmon was piper to Macleod, and Rankin to Maclean of Col.

The tunes of the bagpipe are traditional. There has been in Sky, beyond all time of memory, a college of pipers, under the direction of Macrimmon, which is not quite extinct. There was another in Mull, ſuperintended by Rankin, which expired about ſixteen years ago. To theſe colleges, while the pipe retained its honour, the ſtudents of muſic repaired for education. I have had my dinner exhilarated by the bagpipe, at Armidale, at Dunvegan, and in Col.

The general converſation of the iſlanders has nothing particular. I did not meet with the inquiſitiveneſs of which I have read, and ſuſpect the judgment to have been raſhly made. A ſtranger of curioſity comes into a place where a ſtranger is ſeldom ſeen: he importunes the people with queſtions, of which they cannot gueſs the motive, and gazes with ſurpriſe on things which they, having had them always before their eyes, do not ſuſpect of any thing wonderful. He appears to them like ſome being of another world, and then thinks it peculiar that they take their turn to inquire whence he comes, and whither he is going.

The iſlands were long unfurniſhed with inſtruction for youth, and none but the ſons of gentlemen could have any literature. There are now parochial ſchools, to which the lord of every manor pays a certain ſtipend. Here the children are taught to read; but by the rule of their inſtitution, they teach only Engliſh, ſo that the natives read a language which they may never uſe or underſtand. If a pariſh,

riſh, which often happens, contains ſeveral iſlands, the ſchool being but in one, cannot aſſiſt the reſt. This is the ſtate of Col, which, however, is more enlightened than ſome other places; for the deficiency is ſupplied by a young gentleman, who, for his own improvement, travels every year on foot over the Highlands to the ſeſſion at Aberdeen; and at his return, during the vacation, teaches to read and write in his native iſland.

In Sky there are two grammar ſchools, where boarders are taken to be regularly educated. The price of board is from three pounds, to four pounds ten ſhillings a year, and that of inſtruction is half a crown a quarter. But the ſcholars are birds of paſſage, who live at ſchool only in the ſummer; for in winter proviſions cannot be made for any conſiderable number in one place. This periodical diſperſion impreſſes ſtrongly the ſcarcity of theſe countries.

Having heard of no boarding-ſchool for ladies nearer than Inverneſs, I ſuppoſe their education is generally domeſtic. The elder daughters of the higher families are ſent into the world, and may contribute by their acquiſitions to the improvement of the reſt.

Women muſt here ſtudy to be either pleaſing or uſeful. Their deficiencies are ſeldom ſupplied by very liberal fortunes. A hundred pounds is a portion beyond the hope of any but the Laird's daughter. They do not indeed often give money with their daughters; the queſtion is, How many cows a young lady will bring her huſband. A rich maiden has from ten to forty; but two cows are a decent fortune for one who pretends to no diſtinction.

The religion of the iſlands is that of the Kirk of Scotland. The gentlemen with whom I converſed are all inclined to the Engliſh liturgy; but they are obliged to maintain the eſtabliſhed miniſter, and the country is too poor to afford payment to another, who muſt live wholly on the contribution of his audience.

They therefore all attend the worſhip of the kirk, as often as a viſit from their miniſter, or the practicability of travelling gives them opportunity; nor have they any reaſon to complain of inſufficient paſtors; for I ſaw not one in the iſlands, whom I had reaſon to think either deficient in learning, or irregular in life; but found ſeveral with whom I could not converſe without wiſhing, as my reſpect increaſed, that they had not been Preſbyterians.

The ancient rigour of puritaniſm is now very much relaxed, though all are not yet equally enlightened. I ſometimes met with prejudices ſufficiently malignant, but they were prejudices of ignorance. The miniſters in the iſlands had attained ſuch knowledge as may juſtly be admired in men, who have no motive to ſtudy, but generous curioſity, or, what is ſtill better, deſire of uſefulneſs;

with ſuch politeneſs as ſo narrow a circle of converſe could not have ſupplied, but to minds naturally diſpoſed to elegance.

Reaſon and truth will prevail at laſt. The moſt learned of the Scottiſh Doctors would now gladly admit a form of prayer, if the people would endure it. The zeal or rage of congregations has its different degrees. In ſome pariſhes the Lord's prayer is ſuffered, in others it is ſtill rejected as a form; and he that ſhould make it part of his ſupplication would be ſuſpected of heretical pravity.

The principle upon which extemporary prayer was originally introduced is no longer admitted. The Miniſter formerly, in the effuſion of his prayer, expected immediate, and perhaps perceptible inſpiration, and therefore thought it his duty not to think before what he ſhould ſay. It is now univerſally confeſſed, that men pray as they ſpeak on other occaſions, according to the general meaſure of their abilities and attainments. Whatever each may think of a form preſcribed by another, he cannot but believe that he can himſelf compoſe by ſtudy and meditation a better prayer than will riſe in his mind at a ſudden call; and if he has any hope of ſupernatural help, why may he not as well receive it when he writes as when he ſpeaks?

In the variety of mental powers, ſome muſt perform extemporary prayer with much imperfection; and in the eagerneſs and raſhneſs of contradictory opinions, if public liturgy be left to the private judgment

judgment of every Miniſter, the congregation may often be offended or miſled.

There is in Scotland, as among ourſelves, a reſtleſs ſuſpicion of popiſh machinations, and a clamour of numerous converts to the Romiſh religion. The report is, I believe, in both parts of the Iſland equally falſe. The Romiſh religion is profeſſed only in Egg and Canna, two ſmall iſlands, into which the Reformation never made its way. If any miſſionaries are buſy in the Highlands, their zeal entitles them to reſpect, even from thoſe who cannot think favourably of their doctrine.

The political tenets of the Iſlanders I was not curious to inveſtigate, and they were not eager to obtrude. Their converſation is decent and inoffenſive. They diſdain to drink for their principles, and there is no diſaffection at their tables. I never heard a health offered by a Highlander that might not have circulated with propriety within the precincts of the King's palace.

Legal government has yet ſomething of novelty to which they cannot perfectly conform. The ancient ſpirit that appealed only to the ſword, is yet among them. The tenant of Scalpa, an iſland belonging to Macdonald, took no care to bring his rent; when the landlord talked of exacting payment, he declared his reſolution to keep his ground, and drive all intruders from the Iſland, and continued to feed his cattle as on his own land, till it became neceſſary for the Sheriff to diſlodge him by violence.

The various kinds of ſuperſtition which prevailed here, as in all other regions of ignorance, are by the diligence of the Miniſters almoſt extirpated.

Of Browny, mentioned by Martin, nothing has been heard for many years. Browny was a ſturdy fairy; who, if he was fed, and kindly treated, would, as they ſaid, do a great deal of work. They now pay him no wages, and are content to labour for themſelves.

In Troda, within theſe three-and thirty years, milk was put every Saturday for Greogach, or the Old Man with the Long Beard. Whether Greogach was courted as kind, or dreaded as terrible; whether they meant, by giving him the milk, to obtain good, or avert evil, I was not informed. The Miniſter is now living by whom the practice was aboliſhed.

They have ſtill among them a great number of charms for the cure of different diſeaſes; they are all invocations, perhaps tranſmitted to them from times of popery, which increaſing knowledge will bring into diſuſe.

They have opinions, which cannot be ranked with ſuperſtition, becauſe they regard only natural effects. They expect better crops of grain, by ſowing their ſeed in the moon's increaſe. The moon has great influence in vulgar philoſophy. In my memory it was a precept annually given in one of the Engliſh almanacks, to kill hogs when the moon was increaſing, and the bacon would prove the better in boiling.

We ſhould have had little claim to the praiſe of curioſity, if we had not endeavoured with particular attention to examine the queſtion of the Second Sight. Of an opinion received for centuries by a whole nation, and ſuppoſed to be confirmed thro' its whole deſcent, by a ſeries of ſucceſſive facts, it is deſirable that the truth ſhould be eſtabliſhed, or the fallacy detected.

The Second Sight is an impreſſion made either by the mind upon the eye, or by the eye upon the mind, by which things diſtant or future are perceived, and ſeen as if they were preſent. A man on a journey far from home falls from his horſe; another, who is perhaps at work about the houſe, ſees him bleeding on the ground, commonly with a landſcape of the place where the accident befalls him. Another ſeer, driving home his cattle, or wandering in idleneſs, or muſing in the ſunſhine, is ſuddenly ſurpriſed by the appearance of a bridal ceremony, or funeral proceſſion, and counts the mourners or attendants, of whom, if he knows them, he relates the names, if he knows them not, he can deſcribe the dreſſes. Things diſtant are ſeen at the inſtant when they happen. Of things future I know not that there is any rule for determining the time between the ſight and the event.

This receptive faculty, for power it cannot be called, is neither voluntary nor conſtant. The appearances have no dependence upon choice: they cannot be ſummoned, detained, or recalled. The impreſſion is ſudden, and the effect often painful.

By the term *ſecond ſight*, ſeems to be meant a mode of ſeeing, ſuperadded to that which nature generally beſtows. In the Earſe it is called *Taiſch*; which ſignifies likewiſe a ſpectre or a viſion. I know not, nor is it likely that the Highlanders ever examined, whether by *Taiſch*, uſed for ſecond ſight, they mean the power of ſeeing, or the thing ſeen.

I do not find it to be true, as it is reported, that to the ſecond ſight nothing is preſented but phantoms of evil. Good ſeems to have the ſame proportion in thoſe viſionary ſcenes, as it obtains in real life: almoſt all remarkable events have evil for their baſis; and are either miſeries incurred, or miſeries eſcaped. Our ſenſe is ſo much ſtronger of what we ſuffer, than of what we enjoy, that the ideas of pain predominate in almoſt every mind. What is recollection but a revival of vexations, or hiſtory but a record of wars, treaſons, and calamities! Death, which is conſidered as the greateſt evil, happens to all. The greateſt good, be it what it will, is the lot but of a part.

That they ſhould often ſee death is to be expected; becauſe death is an event frequent and important. But they ſee likewiſe more pleaſing incidents.

dents. A gentleman told me, that when he had once gone far from his own iſland, one of his labouring ſervants predicted his return, and deſcribed the livery of his attendant, which he had never worn at home; and which had been, without any previous deſign, occaſionally given him.

Our deſire of information was keen, and our inquiry frequent. Mr Boſwell's frankneſs and gaiety made every body communicative; and we heard many tales of theſe airy ſhows, with more or leſs evidence and diſtinctneſs.

It is the common talk of the Lowland Scots, that the notion of the ſecond ſight is wearing away with other ſuperſtitions; and that its reality is no longer ſuppoſed, but by the groſſeſt people. How far its prevalence ever extended, or what ground it has loſt, I know not. The iſlanders of all degrees, whether of rank or underſtanding, univerſally admit it; except the miniſters, who univerſally deny it, and are ſuſpected to deny it, in conſequence of a ſyſtem, againſt conviction. One of them honeſtly told me, that he came to Sky with a reſolution not to believe it.

Strong reaſons for incredulity will readily occur. This faculty of ſeeing things out of ſight is local, and commonly uſeleſs. It is a breach of the common order of things, without any viſible reaſon or perceptible benefit. It is aſcribed only to a people very little enlightened; and among them, for the moſt part, to the mean and the ignorant.

To the confidence of theſe objections it may be replied, that by preſuming to determine what is fit, and what is beneficial, they preſuppoſe more knowledge of the univerſal ſyſtem than man has attained; and therefore depend upon principles too complicated and extenſive for our comprehenſion; and that there can be no ſecurity in the conſequence, when the premiſes are not underſtood; that the ſecond ſight is only wonderful becauſe it is rare, for, conſidered in itſelf, it involves no more difficulty than dreams, or perhaps than the regular exerciſe of the cogitative faculty; that a general opinion of communicative impulſes, or viſionary repreſentations, has prevailed in all ages and all nations; that particular inſtances have been given with ſuch evidence, as neither Bacon nor Bayle has been able to reſiſt; that ſudden impreſſions, which the event has verified, have been felt by more than own or publiſh them; that the ſecond ſight of the Hebrides implies only the local frequency of a power, which is nowhere totally unknown; and that where we are unable to decide by antecedent reaſon, we muſt be content to yield to the force of teſtimony.

By pretenſion to ſecond ſight, no profit was ever ſought or gained. It is an involuntary affection, in which neither hope nor fear are known to have any part. Thoſe who profeſs to feel it, do not boaſt of it as a privilege, nor are conſidered by others as advantageouſly diſtinguiſhed. They have no temptation to feign; and their hearers have no motive to encourage the impoſture.

To talk with any of theſe ſeers is not eaſy. There is one living in Sky, with whom we would have gladly converſed; but he was very groſs and ignorant, and knew no Engliſh. The proportion in theſe countries of the poor to the rich is ſuch, that if we ſuppoſe the quality to be accidental, it can very rarely happen to a man of education; and yet on ſuch men it has ſometimes fallen. There is now a ſecond ſighted gentleman in the Highlands, who complains of the terrors to which he is expoſed.

The foreſight of the ſeers is not always preſcience: they are impreſſed with images, of which the event only ſhews them the meaning. They tell what they have ſeen to others, who are at that time not more knowing than themſelves, but may become at laſt very adequate witneſſes, by comparing the narrative with its verification.

To collect ſufficient teſtimonies for the ſatisfaction of the public, or of ourſelves, would have required more time than we could beſtow. There is, againſt it, the ſeeming analogy of things confuſedly ſeen, and little underſtood; and for it, the indiſtinct cry of national perſuaſion, which may be perhaps reſolved at laſt into prejudice and tradition. I never could advance my curioſity to conviction; but came away at laſt only willing to believe.

As there ſubſiſts no longer in the iſlands much of that peculiar and diſcriminative form of life, of which the idea had delighted our imagination, we were willing to liſten to ſuch accounts of paſt times as would be given us. But we ſoon found what memorials were to be expected from an illiterate people, whoſe whole time is a ſeries of diſtreſs; where every morning is labouring with expedients for the evening; and where all mental pains or pleaſure aroſe from the dread of winter, the expectation of ſpring, the caprices of their chiefs, and the motions of the neighbouring clans; where there was neither ſhame from ignorance, nor pride in knowledge; neither curioſity to inquire, nor vanity to communicate.

The Chiefs indeed were exempt from urgent penury, and daily difficulties; and in their houſes were preſerved what accounts remained of paſt ages. But the Chiefs were ſometimes ignorant and careleſs, and ſometimes kept buſy by turbulence and contention; and one generation of ignorance effaces the whole ſeries of unwritten hiſtory. Books are faithful repoſitories, which may be a while neglected or forgotten; but when they are opened again, will again impart their inſtruction; memory once interrupted, is not to be recalled. Written learning is a fixed luminary, which, after the cloud that had hidden it has paſt away, is again bright in its proper ſtation. Tradition is but a meteor, which, if once its falls, cannot be rekindled.

It ſeems to be univerſally ſuppoſed, that much of the local hiſtory was preſerved by the Bards, of whom one is ſaid to have been retained by every great family. After theſe Bards were ſome of my firſt inquiries; and I received ſuch anſwers as, for a while, made me pleaſe myſelf with my increaſe of knowledge; for I had not then learned how to eſtimate the narration of a Highlander.

They ſaid that a great family had a Bard and a Senachi, who were the poet and hiſtorian of the houſe; and an old gentleman told me that he rememembered one of each. Here was a dawn of intelligence. Of men that had lived within memory, ſome certain knowledge might be attained. Though the office had ceaſed, its effects might continue; the poems might be found, though there was no poet.

Another converſation indeed informed me, that the ſame man was both Bard and Senachi. This variation diſcouraged me; but as the practice might be different in different times, or at the ſame time in different families, there was yet no reaſon for ſuppoſing that I muſt neceſſarily ſit down in total ignorance.

Soon after I was told by a gentleman, who is generally acknowledged the greateſt maſter of Hebridian antiquities, that there had indeed once been both Bards and Senachies; and that Senachi ſignified ſied *the man of talk*, or of converſation; but that neither Bard nor Senachi had exiſted for ſome centuries. I have no reaſon to ſuppoſe it exactly known at what time the cuſtom ceaſed, nor did it probably ceaſe in all houſes at once. But whenever the practice of recitation was diſuſed, the works, whether poetical or hiſtorical, periſhed with the authors; for in thoſe times nothing had been written in the Earſe language.

Whether the Man of Talk was a hiſtorian, whoſe office was to tell truth, or a ſtory-teller, like thoſe which were in the laſt century, and perhaps are now among the Iriſh, whoſe trade was only to amuſe, it now would be vain to inquire.

Moſt of the domeſtic offices were, I believe, hereditary; and probably the laureat of a clan was always the ſon of the laſt laureat. The hiſtory of the race could no otherwiſe be communicated, or retained; but what genius could be expected in a poet by inheritance?

The nation was wholly illiterate. Neither bards nor Senachies could write or read; but if they were ignorant, there was no danger of detection; they were believed by thoſe whoſe vanity they flattered.

The recital of genealogies, which has been conſidered as very efficacious to the preſervation of a true ſeries of anceſtry, was anciently made, when the heir of the family came to manly age. This practice has never ſubſiſted within time of memory, nor was much credit due to ſuch rehearſers, who might obtrude fictitious pedigrees, either to pleaſe their maſters, or to hide the deficiency of their own memories.

Where the Chiefs of the Highlands have found the hiſtories of their deſcent is difficult to tell; for no Earſe genealogy was ever written. In general this only is evident, that the principal houſe of a clan muſt be very ancient, and that thoſe muſt have lived long in a place, of whom it is not known when they came thither.

Thus hopeleſs are all attempts to find any traces of Highland learning. Nor are their primitive cuſtoms and ancient manner of life otherwiſe than very faintly and uncertainly remembered by the preſent race.

The peculiarities which ſtrike the native of a commercial country, proceeded in a great meaſure from the want of money. To the ſervants and dependents that were not domeſtics, and if an eſtimate be made from the capacity of any of their old houſes which I have ſeen, their domeſtics could have been but few, were appropriated certain portions of land for their ſupport. Macdonald has a piece of ground yet, called the Bards or Senachies field. When a beef was killed for the houſe, particular parts were claimed as fees by the ſeveral officers, or workmen. What was the right of each I have not learned. The head belonged to the ſmith, and the udder of a cow to the piper; the weaver had likewiſe his particular part; and ſo many pieces followed theſe preſcriptive claims, that the Laird's was at laſt but little.

The payment of rent in kind has been ſo long diſuſed in England, that it is totally forgotten. It was practiſed very lately in the Hebrides, and probably ſtill continues, not only in St Kilda, where money is not yet known, but in others of the ſmaller and remoter iſlands. It were perhaps to be deſired, that no change in this particular ſhould have been made. When the laird could only eat the produce of his lands, he was under the neceſſity of reſiding upon them; and when the tenant could not convert his ſtock into more portable riches, he could never be tempted away from his farm, from the only place where he could be wealthy. Money confounds ſubordination, by overpowering the diſtinctions of rank and birth, and weakens authority by ſupplying power of reſiſtance, or expedients for eſcape. The feudal ſyſtem is formed for a nation employed in agriculture, and has never long kept its hold where gold and ſilver have become common.

Their arms were anciently the Claymore, or great two-handed ſword, and afterwards the two-edged ſword and target, or buckler, which was ſuſtained on the left arm. In the midſt of the target, which was made of wood, covered with leather, and ſtudded with nails, a ſlender lance, about two feet long, was ſometimes fixed; it was heavy and cumberous, and accordingly has for ſome time paſt been gradually laid aſide. Very few targets were at Culloden. The dirk, or broad dagger, I am afraid, was of more uſe in private quarrels than in battles. The Lochaber-ax is only a ſlight alteration of the old Engliſh bill.

After all that has been ſaid of the force and terror of the Highland ſword, I could not find that the art of defence was any part of common education. The gentlemen were perhaps ſometimes ſkilful gladiators, but the common men had no other powers than thoſe of violence and courage. Yet [illegible]s well known, that the onſet of the Highlanders was very formidable. As an army cannot conſiſt of philoſophers, a panic is eaſily excited by any unwonted mode of annoyance. New dangers are naturally magnified; and men accuſtomed only to exchange bullets at a diſtance, and rather to hear their enemies than ſee them, are diſcouraged and amazed when they find themſelves encountered hand to hand, and catch the gleam of ſteel flaſhing in their faces.

The Highland weapons gave opportunity for many exertions of perſonal courage, and ſometimes for ſingle combats in the field; like thoſe which occur ſo frequently in fabulous wars. At Falkirk, a gentleman now living, was, I ſuppoſe after the retreat of the King's troops, engaged at a diſtance from the reſt with an Iriſh dragoon. They were both ſkilful ſwordſmen, and the conteſt was not eaſily decided: the dragoon at laſt had the advantage, and the Highlander called for quarter; but quarter was refuſed him, and the fight continued till he was reduced to defend himſelf upon his knee. At that inſtant one of the Macleods came to his reſcue; who, as it is ſaid, offered quarter to the dragoon, but he thought himſelf obliged to reject what he had before refuſed, and, as battle gives little time to deliberate, was immediately killed.

Funerals were formerly ſolemnized by calling multitudes together, and entertaining them at great expence. This emulation of uſeleſs coſt has been for ſome time diſcouraged, and at laſt in the Iſle of Sky is almoſt ſuppreſſed.

Of the Earſe language, as I underſtand nothing, I cannot ſay more than I have been told. It is the rude ſpeech of a barbarous people, who had few thoughts to expreſs, and were content, as they conceived groſsly, to be groſsly underſtood. After what has been lately talked of Highland bards, and Highland genius, many will ſtartle when they are told, that the Earſe never was a written language; that there is not in the world an Earſe manuſcript a hundred years old; and that the ſounds of the Highlanders were never expreſſed by letters, till ſome little books of piety were tranſlated, and a metrical verſion of the Pſalms was made by the ſynod of Argyll. Whoever therefore now writes in this language, ſpells according to his own perception of the ſound, and his own idea of the power of the letters. The Welſh and the Iriſh are cultivated tongues. The Welſh, two hundred years ago, inſulted their Engliſh neighbours for the inſtability of their orthography; while the Earſe merely floated in the breath of the people, and could therefore receive little improvement.

When a language begins to teem with books, it is tending to refinement; as thoſe who undertake to teach others muſt have undergone ſome labour in improving themſelves, they ſet a proportionate value on their own thoughts, and wiſh to enforce them by efficacious expreſſions; ſpeech becomes embodied and permanent; different modes and phraſes are compared, and the beſt obtains an eſtabliſhment. By degrees one age improves upon another. Exactneſs is firſt obtained, and afterwards elegance. But diction, merely vocal, is always in its childhood. As no man leaves his eloquence behind him, the new generations have all to learn. There may poſſibly be books without a poliſhed language, but there can be no poliſhed language without books.

That the bards could not read more than the reſt of their countrymen, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe; becauſe, if they had read, they could probably have written; and how high their compoſitions may reaſonably be rated, an inquirer may beſt judge, by conſidering what ſtores of imagery, what principles of ratiocination, what comprehenſion of konwknowledge, and what delicacy of elocution he has known any man attain who cannot read. The ſtate of the bards was yet more hopeleſs. He that cannot read, may now converſe with thoſe that can; but the bard was a barbarian among barbarians, who, knowing nothing himſelf, lived with others that knew no more.

There has lately been in the iſlands one of theſe illiterate poets, who hearing the Bible read at church, is ſaid to have turned the ſacred hiſtory into verſe. I heard part of a dialogue, compoſed by him, tranſlated by a young lady in Mull, and thought it had more meaning than I expected from a man totally uneducated; but he had ſome opportunities of knowledge; he lived among a learned people. After all that has been done for the inſtruction of the Highlanders, the antipathy between their language and literature ſtill continues; and no man that has learned only Earſe is, at this time, able to read.

The Earſe has many dialects, and the words uſed in ſome iſlands are not always known in others. In literate nations, though the pronunciation, and ſometimes the words of common ſpeech may differ, as now in England, compared with the ſouth of Scotland, yet there is a written diction, which pervades all dialects, and is underſtood in every province. But where the whole language is colloquial, he that has only one part, never gets the reſt; as he cannot get it but by change of reſidence.

In an unwritten ſpeech, nothing that is not very ſhort is tranſmitted from one generation to another. Few have opportunities of hearing a long compoſition often enough to learn it, or have inclination to repeat it ſo often as is neceſſary to retain it; and what is once forgotten is loſt for ever. I believe there cannot be recovered, in the whole Earſe language, five hundred lines of which there is any evidence to prove them a hundred years old. Yet I hear that the father of Oſſian boaſts of two cheſts more of ancient poetry, which he ſuppreſſes, becauſe they are too good for the Engliſh.

He that goes into the Highlands with a mind naturally acquieſcent, and a credulity eager for wonders, may come back with an opinion very different from mine; for the inhabitants knowing the ignorance of all ſtrangers in their language and antiquities, perhaps are not very ſcrupulous adherents to truth; yet I do not ſay that they deliberately ſpeak ſtudied falſehood, or have a ſettled purpoſe to deceive. They have inquired and conſidered little, and do not always feel their own ignorance. They are not much accuſtomed to be interrogated by others; and ſeem never to have thought upon interrogating themſelves; ſo that if they do not know what they tell to be true, they likewiſe do not diſtinctly perceive it to be falſe.

Mr. Boſwell was very diligent in his inquiries;

and the reſult of his inveſtigations was, that the anſwer to the ſecond queſtion was commonly ſuch as nullified the anſwer to the firſt.

We were a while told, that they had an old tranſlation of the ſcriptures; and told it till it would appear obſtinacy to inquire again. Yet by contitinued accumulation of queſtions we found, that the tranſlation meant, if any meaning there were, was nothing elſe than the Iriſh Bible.

We heard of manuſcripts that were, or that had been in the hands of ſomebody's father, or grandfather; but at laſt we had no reaſon to believe they were other than Iriſh. Martin mentions Iriſh, but never any Earſe manuſcripts to be found in the iſlands in his time.

I ſuppoſe my opinion of the poems of Oſſian is already diſcovered. I believe they never exiſted in any other form than that which we have ſeen. The editor, or author, never could ſhew the original; nor can it be ſhewn by any other; to revenge reaſonable incredulity, by refuſing evidence is a degree of inſolence, with which the world is not yet acquainted; and ſtubborn audacity is the laſt refuge of guilt. It would be eaſy to ſhew it if he had it; but whence could it be had? It is too long to be remembered, and the language formerly had nothing written. He has doubtleſs inſerted names that circulate in popular ſtories, and may have tranſlated ſome wandering ballads, if any can be found; and the names, and ſome of the images being recollected, make an inaccurate auditor imagine, by the help of Caledonian bigotry, that he has formerly heard the whole.

I aſked a very learned miniſter in Sky, who had uſed all the arts to make me believe the genuineneſs of the book, whether at laſt he believed it himſelf? but he would not anſwer. He wiſhed me to be deceived, for the honour of his country; but would not directly and formally deceive me. Yet has this man's teſtimony been publicly produced, as one that held Fingal to be the work of Oſſian.

It is ſaid, that ſome men of integrity profeſs to have heard parts of it, but they all heard them when they were boys; and it was never ſaid that any of them could recite ſix lines. They remember names, and perhaps ſome proverbial ſentiments; and, having no diſtinct ideas, coin a reſemblance without an original. The perſuaſion of the Scots, however, is far from univerſal; and in a queſtion ſo capable of proof, why ſhould doubt be ſuffered to continue? The editor has been heard to ſay, that part of the poem was received by him, in the Saxon character. He has then found, by ſome peculiar fortune, an unwritten language written in a character which the natives probably never beheld.

I have yet ſuppoſed no impoſture but in the publiſher, yet I am far from certainty, that ſome tranſlations have not been lately made, that may now be obtruded as parts of the original work. Credulity on one part is a ſtrong temptation to deceit on the other, eſpecially to deceit of which no perſonal injury is the conſequence, and which flatters the author with his own ingenuity. The Scots have ſomething to plead for their eaſy reception of an improbable fiction: they are ſeduced by their fondneſs for their ſuppoſed anceſtors. A Scotchman muſt be a very ſturdy moraliſt who does not love Scotland better than truth; he will always love it better than inquiry: and if falſehood flatters his vanity, will not be very diligent to detect it. Neither ought the Engliſh to be much influenced by Scotch authority; for of the paſt and preſent ſtate of the whole Earſe nation, the Lowlanders are at leaſt as ignorant as ourſelves. To be ignorant is painful; but it is dangerous to quiet our uneaſineſs by the deluſive opiate of haſty perſuaſion.

But this is the age in which thoſe who could not read have been ſuppoſed to write, in which the giants of antiquated romance have been exhibited as realities. If we know little of the ancient Highlanders, let us not fill the vacuity with Oſſian. If we have not ſearched the Magellanic regions, let us however forbear to people them with Patagons.

Having waited ſome days at Armidel, we were flattered at laſt with a wind that promiſed to convey us to Mull. We went on board a boat that was taking in kelp, and left the Iſle of Sky behind us. We were doomed to experience, like others, the danger of truſting to the wind, which blew againſt us, in a ſhort time, with ſuch violence, that we, being no ſeaſoned ſailors, were willing to call it a tempeſt. I was ſea-ſick and lay down. Mr Boſwell kept the deck. The maſter knew not well whither to go; and our difficulties might, perhaps have filled a very pathetic page, had not Mr Maclean of Col, who, with every other qualification which inſular life requires, is a very active and ſkilful mariner, piloted us ſafe into his own harbour.

COL.

In the morning we found ourſelves under the Iſle of Col, where we landed, and paſſed the firſt day and night with Captain Maclean; a gentleman who has lived ſome time in the Eaſt Indies, but having dethroned no Nabob, is not too rich to ſettle in his own country.

Next day the wind was fair, and we might have had an eaſy paſſage to Mull; but having, contrarily to our own intention, landed upon a new iſland, we would not leave it wholly unexamined. We therefore ſuffered the veſſel to depart without us, and truſted the ſkies for another wind.

Mr Maclean of Col, having a very numerous family, has, for ſome time paſt, reſided at Aberdeen, that he may ſuperintend their education, and leaves the young gentleman, our friend, to govern his dominions, with the full power of a Highland Chief. By the abſence of the Laird's family, our entertainment was made more difficult, becauſe the houſe was in a great degree disfurniſhed; but young Col's kindneſs and activity ſupplied all defects, and procured us more than ſufficient accommodation.

Here I firſt mounted a little Highland ſteed; and if there had been many ſpectators, ſhould have been ſomewhat aſhamed of my figure in the march. The horſes of the iſlands, as of other barren countries, are very low: they are indeed muſculous and ſtrong, beyond what their ſize gives reaſon for expecting; but a bulky man upon one of their backs makes a very diſproportionate appearance.

From the habitation of Captain Maclean, we went to Griſſipol, but called by the way on Mr Hector Maclean, the miniſter of Col, whom we found in a hut, that is, a houſe of only one floor, but with windows and chimney, and not inelegantly furniſhed. Mr Maclean has the reputation of great learning; he is ſeventy-ſeven years old, but not infirm, with a look of venerable dignity, excelling what I remember in any other man.

His converſation was not unſuitable to his appearance. I loſt ſome of his good-will, by treating a heretical writer with more regard than, in his opinion, a heretic could deſerve. I honoured his orthodoxy, and did not much cenſure his aſperity.

A man who has ſettled his opinions, does not love to have the tranquillity of his conviction diſturbed; and at ſeventy-ſeven it is time to be in earneſt.

Mention was made of the Earſe tranſlation of the New Teſtament, which has been lately publiſhed, and of which the learned Mr Macqueen of Sky ſpoke with commendation; but Mr Maclean ſaid he did not uſe it, becauſe he could make the text more intelligible to his auditors by an extemporary verſion. From this I inferred, that the language of the tranſlation was not the language of the iſle of Col.

He has no public edifice for the exerciſe of his miniſtry; and can officiate to no greater number, than a room can contain, and the room of a hut is not very large. This is all the opportunity of worſhip that is now granted to the inhabitants of the iſland, ſome of whom muſt travel thither perhaps ten miles. Two chapels were erected by their anceſtors, of which I ſaw the ſkeletons, which now ſtand faithful witneſſes of the triumph of Reformation.

The want of churches is not the only impediment to piety: there is likewiſe a want of Miniſters. A pariſh often contains more iſlands than one; and each iſland can have the miniſter only in its own turn. At Raaſa they had, I think, a right to ſervice only every third Sunday. All the proviſion made by the preſent eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, for the inhabitants of about a hundred ſquare miles, is a prayer and ſermon in a little room, once in three weeks: and even this parſimonious diſtribution is at the mercy of the weather: and in thoſe iſlands where the Miniſter does not reſide, it is impoſſible to tell how many weeks or months may paſs without any public exerciſe of religion.

GRISSIPOL IN COL.

After a ſhort converſation with Mr Maclean, we went on to Griſſipol, a houſe and farm tenanted by Mr Macſweyn, where I ſaw more of the ancient life of a Highlander that I had yet found. Mrs Macſweyn could ſpeak no Engliſh, and had never ſeen any other places than the iſlands of Sky, Mull, and Coll: but ſhe was hoſpitable and good-humoured, and ſpread her table with ſufficient liberality. We found tea here, as in every other place, but our ſpoons were of horn.

The houſe of Griſſipol ſtands by a brook very clear and quick; which is, I ſuppoſe, one of the moſt copious ſtreams in the iſland. This place was the ſcene of an action, much celebrated in the traditional hiſtory of Col, but which probably no two relaters will tell alike.

Some time, in the obſcure ages, Macneil of Barra married the Lady Maclean, who had the iſle of Col for her jointure. Whether Macneil detained Col, when the widow was dead, or whether ſhe lived ſo long as to make her heirs impatient, is perhaps not now known. The younger ſon, called John Gerves, or John the Giant, a man of great ſtrength, who was then in Ireland, either for ſafety, or for education, dreamed of recovering his inheritance; and getting ſome adventurers together, which in thoſe unſettled times was not hard to do, invaded Col. He was driven away, but was not diſcouraged, and collecting new followers, in three years came again with fifty men. In his way he ſtopped at Artorinish in Morvern, where his uncle was priſoner to Macleod, and was then with his enemies in a tent. Maclean took with him only one ſervant, whom he ordered to ſtay at the outſide; and where he ſhould ſee the tent preſſed outwards, to ſtrike with his dirk; it being the intention of Maclean, as any man provoked him, to lay hands upon him, and puſh him back. He entered the tent alone, with his Lochaber-axe in his hand, and ſtruck ſuch terror into the whole aſſembly, that they diſmiſſed his uncle.

When he landed at Col, he ſaw the centinel, who kept watch towards the ſea, running off to Griſſipol, to give Macneil, who was there with a hundred and twenty men, an account of the invaſion. He told Macgil, one of his followers, that if he intercepted that dangerous intelligence, by catching the courier, he would give him certain lands in Mull. Upon this promiſe, Macgill purſued the meſſenger, and either killed, or ſtopped him; and his poſterity, till very lately, held the lands in Mull.

The alarm being thus prevented, he came unexpectedly upon Macneil. Chiefs were in thoſe days never wholly unprovided for an enemy. A fight enſued, in which one of their followers is ſaid to have given an extraordinary proof of activity, by bounding backwards over the brook of Griſſipol. Macneil being killed, and many of his clan deſtroyed, Maclean took poſſeſſion of the iſland, which the Macneils attempted to conquer by another invaſion, but were defeated and repulſed.

Maclean, in his turn, invaded the eſtate of the Macneils, took the caſtle of Brecacig, and conquered the iſle of Barra, which he held for ſeven years, and then reſtored it to the heirs.

CASTLE OF COL.

From Griſſipol, Mr Maclean conducted us to his father's ſeat; a neat new houſe, erected near the old caſtle, I think, by the laſt proprietor. Here we were allowed to take our ſtation, and lived very commodiouſly, while we waited for moderate weather and a fair wind, which we did not ſo ſoon obtain, but we had time to get ſome information of the preſent ſtate of Col, partly by inquiry, and partly by occaſional excurſions.

Col is computed to be thirteen miles in length, and three in breadth. Both the ends are the property of the Duke of Argyle, but the middle belongs to Maclean, who is called Col, as the only Laird.

Col is not properly rocky; it is rather one continued rock, of a ſurface much diverſified with protuberances, and covered with a thin layer of earth, which is often broken, and diſcovers the ſtone. Such a ſoil is not for plants that ſtrike deep roots; and perhaps in the whole iſland nothing has ever yet grown to the height of a table. The uncultivated parts are clothed with heath, among which induſtry has interſperſed ſpots of graſs and corn; but no attempt has yet been made to raiſe a tree. Young Col, who has a very laudable deſire of improving his patrimony, purpoſes ſome time to plant an orchard; which, if it be ſheltered by a wall, may perhaps ſucceed. He has introduced the culture of turnips, of which he has a field, where the whole work was performed by his own hand. His intention is to provide food for his cattle in the winter. This innovation was conſidered by Mr Macſweyn as the idle project of a young head, heated with Engliſh fancies; but he has now found that turnips will really grow, and that hungry ſheep and cows will really eat them.

By ſuch acquiſitions as theſe, the Hebrides may in time riſe above their annual diſtreſs. Wherever heath will grow, there is reaſon to think ſomething better may draw nouriſhment; and by trying the production of other places, plants will be found ſuitable to every ſoil.

Col has many lochs, ſome of which have trouts and eels, and others have never yet been ſtocked: another proof of the negligence of the Iſlanders, who might take fiſh in the inland waters, when they cannot go to ſea.

Their quadrupeds are horſes, cows, ſheep, and goats. They have neither deer, hares, nor rabbits. They have no vermin, except rats, which have been lately brought thither by ſea, as to other places; and are free from ſerpents, frogs, and toads.

The harveſt in Col, and in Lewis, is ripe ſooner than in Sky, and the winter in Col is never cold, but very tempeſtuous. I know not that I ever heard the wind ſo loud in any other place; and Mr Boſwell obſerved, that its noiſe was all its own, for there were no trees to increaſe it.

Noiſe is not the worſt effect of the tempeſts; for they have thrown the ſand from the ſhore over a conſiderable part of the land; and it is ſaid ſtill to encroach and deſtroy more and more paſture; but I am not of opinion, that by any ſurveys or landmarks, its limits have been ever fixed, or its progreſſion aſcertained. If one man has confidence enough to ſay, that it advances, nobody can bring any proof to ſupport him in denying it. The reaſon why it is not ſpread to a greater extent, ſeems to be, that the wind and rain come almoſt together,

ther, and that it is made cloſe and heavy by the wet before the ſtorms can put it in motion. So thick is the bed, and ſo ſmall the particles, that if a traveller ſhould be caught by a ſudden guſt in dry weather, he would find it very difficult to eſcape with life.

For natural curioſities, I was ſhown only two great maſſes of ſtone, which lie looſe upon the ground; one on the top of a hill, and the other at a ſmall diſtance from the bottom. They certainly were never put into their preſent places by human ſtrength or ſkill; and though an earthquake might have broken off the lower ſtone, and rolled it into the valley, no account can be given of the other, which lies on the hill, unleſs, which I forgot to examine, there be ſtill near it ſome higher rock, from which it might be torn. All nations have a tradition, that their earlieſt anceſtors were giants, and theſe ſtones are ſaid to have been thrown up and down by a giant and his miſtreſs. There are ſo many more important things, of which human knowledge can give no account, that it may be forgiven us, if we ſpeculate no longer on two ſtones in Col.

This Iſland is very populous. About nine-and-twenty years ago the fencible men of Col were reckoned one hundred and forty, which is the ſixth of eight hundred and forty; and probably ſome contrived to be left out of the liſt. The Miniſter told us, that a few years ago the inhabitants were eight hundred, between the ages of ſeven and of ſeventy. Round numbers are ſeldom exact. But in this caſe the authority is good, and the error likely to be little. If to the eight hundred be added what the laws of computation require, they will be increaſed to at leaſt a thouſand; and if the dimenſions of the country have been accurately related, every mile maintains more than twenty-five.

This proportion of habitation is greater than the appearance of the country ſeems to admit; for wherever the eye wanders, it ſees much waſte and little cultivation. I am more inclined to extend the land, of which no meaſure has ever been taken, than to diminiſh the people, who have been really numbered. Let it be ſuppoſed, that a computed mile contains a mile and a half, as was commonly found true in the menſuration of the Engliſh roads, and we ſhall then allot nearly twelve to a mile, which agrees much better with ocular obſervation.

Here, as in Sky and other Iſlands, are the Laird, the Tackſmen, and the under tenants.

Mr Maclean the Laird, has very extenſive poſſeſſions, being proprietor, not only of far the greater part of Col, but of the extenſive Iſland of Rum, and a very conſiderable territory in Mull.

Rum is one of the larger Iſlands, almoſt ſquare, and therefore of great capacity in proportion to its ſides. By the uſual method of eſtimating computed extent, it may contain more than a hundred and twenty ſquare miles.

It originally belonged to Clanronald, and was purchaſed by Col; who, in ſome diſpute about the bargain, made Clanronald priſoner, and kept him nine months in confinement. Its owner repreſents it as mountainous, rugged, and barren. In the hills there are red deer. The horſes are very ſmall, but of a breed eminent for beauty. Col, not long ago, bought one of them from a tenant; who told him, that as he was of a ſhape uncommonly elegant, he could not ſell him but at a high price; and that whoever had him ſhould pay a guinea and a half.

There are ſaid to be in Barra, a race of horſes yet ſmaller, of which the higheſt is not above thirty-ſix inches.

The rent of Rum is not great. Mr Maclean declared, that he ſhould be very rich, if he could ſet his land at twopence halfpenny an acre. The inhabitants are fifty-eight families, who continued Papiſts for ſome time after the Laird became a Proteſtant. Their adherence to their old religion was ſtrengthened by the countenance of the Laird's ſiſter, a zealous Romaniſt, till one Sunday, as they were going to maſs under the conduct of their patroneſs, Maclean met them on the way, gave one of them a blow on the head with a yellow ſtick, I ſuppoſe a cane, for which the Earſe had no name, and drove them to the kirk, from which they have never departed. Since the uſe of this method of converſation, the inhabitants of Egg and Canna, who continue Papiſts, call the Proteſtantiſm of Rum, the religion of the Yellow Stick.

The only Popiſh Iſlands are Egg and Canna. Egg is the principal Iſland of a pariſh, in which, though he has no congregation, the Proteſtant Miniſter reſides. I have heard of nothing curious in it, but the cave in which a former generation of the Iſlanders were ſmothered by Macleod.

If we had travelled with more leiſure, it had not been fit to have neglected the Popiſh Iſlands. Popery is favourable to ceremony; and among ignorant nations, ceremony is the only preſervative of tradition. Since proteſtantiſm was extended to the ſavage parts of Scotland, it has perhaps been one of the chief labours of the Miniſters to aboliſh ſtated obſervances, becauſe they continued the remembrance of the former religion. We therefore who came to hear old traditions, and ſee antiquated manners, ſhould probably have found them amongſt the papiſts.

Canna, the other Popiſh Iſland, belongs to Clanronald. It is ſaid to compriſe more than twelve miles of land, and yet maintains as many inhabitants as Rum.

We were at Col under the protection of the young Laird, without any of the diſtreſſes, which Mr Pennant, in a fit of ſimple credulity, ſeems to think almoſt worthy of an elegy by Oſſian. Where-ever we roved, we were pleaſed to ſee the reverence with which his ſubjects regarded him. He did not endeavour to dazzle them by any magnificence of dreſs: his only diſtinction was a feather in his bonnet; but as ſoon as he appeared, they forſook their work and cluſtered about him: he took them by the hand, and they ſeemed mutually delighted. He has the proper diſpoſition of a Chieftain, and ſeems deſirous to continue the cuſtoms of his houſe. The bagpiper played regularly, when dinner was ſerved, whoſe perſon and dreſs made a good appearance; and he brought no diſgrace upon the family of Rankin, which has long ſupplied the Lairds of Col with hereditary muſick.

The tackſmen of Col ſeem to live with leſs dignity and convenience than thoſe of Sky; where they had good houſes, and tables not only plentiful, but delicate. In Col only two houſes pay the window tax; for only two have ſix windows, which, I ſuppoſe, are the Laird's and Mr Macſweyn's.

The rents have, till within ſeven years, been paid in kind, but the tenants finding that cattle and corn varied in their price, deſired for the future to give their landlord money; which, not having yet arrived at the philoſophy of commerce, they conſider as being every year of the ſame value.

We were told of a particular mode of undertenure. The Tackſman admits ſome of his inferior neighbours to the cultivation of his grounds, on condition that performing all the work, and giving a third part of the ſeed, they ſhall keep a certain number of cows, ſheep, and goats, and reap a third part of the harveſt. Thus by leſs than the tillage of two acres they pay the rent of one.

There are tenants below the rank of Tackſmen, that have got ſmaller tenants under them; for in every place, where money is not the general equivalent, there muſt be ſome whoſe labour is immediately paid by daily food.

A country that has no money, is by no means convenient for beggars, both becauſe ſuch countries are commonly poor, and becauſe charity requires ſome trouble and ſome thought. A penny is eaſily given upon the firſt impulſe of compaſſion, or impatience of importunity; but few will deliberately ſearch their cupboards or their granaries to find out ſomething to give. A penny is likewiſe eaſily ſpent; but victuals, if they are unprepared, require houſe-room, and fire, and utenſils, which the beggar knows not where to find.

Yet beggars there ſometimes are, who wander from Iſland to Iſland. We had, in our paſſage to Mull, the company of a woman and her child, who had exhauſted the charity of Col. The arrival of a beggar on an Iſland is accounted a ſiniſtrous event. Every body conſiders that he ſhall have the leſs for what he gives away. Their alms, I believe, is generally oat-meal.

Near to Col is another Iſland called Tireye, eminent for its fertility. Though it has but half the extent of Rum, it ſo well peopled, that there have appeared, not long ago, nine hundred and fourteen at a funeral. The plenty of this iſland enticed beggars to it, who ſeemed ſo burdenſome to the inhabitants, that a formal compact was drawn up, by which they obliged themſelves to grant no more relief to caſual wanderers, becauſe they had among them an indigent woman of high birth, whom they conſidered as entitled to all that they could ſpare. I have read the ſtipulation, which was indited with juridical formality, but was never made valid by regular ſubſcription.

If the inhabitants of Col have nothing to give, it is not that they are oppreſſed by their landlord: their leaſes ſeem to be very profitable. One farmer, who pays only ſeven pounds a year, has maintained ſeven daughters and three ſons, of whom the eldeſt is educated at Aberdeen for the miniſtry; and now, at every vacation, opens a ſchool in Col.

Life is here, in ſome reſpects, improved beyond the condition of ſome other Iſlands. In Sky what is wanted can only be bought, as the arrival of ſome wandering pedlar may afford an opportunity; but in Col there is a ſtanding ſhop, and in Mull there are two. A ſhop in the Iſlands, as in other places of little frequentation, is a repoſitory of every thing requiſite for common uſe. Mr Boſwell's journal was filled, and he bought ſome paper in Col. To a man that ranges the ſtreets of London, where he is tempted to contrive wants for the pleaſure of ſupplying them, a ſhop affords no image worthy of attention; but in an Iſland, it turns the balance of exiſtence between good and evil. To live in perpetual want of little things, is a ſtate not indeed of torture, but of conſtant vexation. I have in Sky had ſome difficulty to find ink for a letter; and if a woman breaks her needle, the work is at a ſtop.

As it is, the Iſlanders are obliged to content themſelves with ſuccedaneous means for many common purpoſes. I have ſeen the chief man of a very wide diſtrict riding with a halter for a bridle, and governing his hobby with a wooden curb.

The people of Col, however, do not want dexterity to ſupply ſome of their neceſſities. Several arts which make trades, and demand apprenticeſhips in great cities, are here the practices of daily economy. In every houſe candles are made, both moulded and dipped. Their wicks are ſmall ſhreds of linen cloth. They all know how to extract from the Cuddy, oil for their lamps. They all tan ſkins, and make brogues.

As we travelled through Sky, we ſaw many cottages, but they very frequently ſtood ſingle on the naked ground. In Col, where the hills opened a place convenient for habitation, we found a petty village, of which every hut had a little garden adjoining; thus they made an appearance of ſocial commerce and mutual offices, and of ſome attention to convenience and future ſupply. There is not in the Weſtern Iſlands any collection of buildings that can make pretenſions to be called a town, except in the Iſle of Lewis, which I have not ſeen.

If Lewis is diſtinguiſhed by a town, Col has alſo ſomething peculiar. The young Laird has attempted what no iſlander perhaps ever thought on. He has begun a road capable of a wheel-carriage. He has carried it about a mile, and will continue it by annual elongation from his houſe to the harbour.

Of taxes here is no reaſon for complaining; they are paid by a very eaſy compoſition. The malt-tax for Col is twenty ſhillings. Whiſky is very plentiful: there are ſeveral ſtills in the Iſland, and more is made than the inhabitants conſume.

The great buſineſs of inſular policy is now to keep the people in their own country. As the world has been let in upon them, they have heard of happier climates, and leſs arbitrary government; and if they are diſguſted, have emiſſaries among them ready to offer them land and houſes, as a reward for deſerting their Chief and clan. Many have departed both from the main of Scotland, and from the Iſlands; and all that go may be conſidered as ſubjects loſt to the Britiſh crown; for a nation ſcattered in the boundleſs regions of America, reſembles rays diverging from a focus. All the rays remain, but the heat is gone. Their power conſiſted in their concentration: when they are diſperſed, they have no effect.

It may be thought that they are happier by the change; but they are not happy as a nation, for they are a nation no longer. As they contribute not to the proſperity of any community, they muſt want that ſecurity, that dignity, that happineſs, whatever it be, which a proſperous community throws back upon individuals.

The inhabitants of Col have not yet learned to be weary of their heath and rocks, but attend their agriculture and their dairies, without liſtening to American ſeducements.

There are ſome, however, who think that this emigration has raiſed terror diſproportionate to its real evil; and that it is only a new mode of doing what was always done. The Highlands, they ſay, never maintained their natural inhabitants; but the people, when they found themſelves too numerous, inſtead of extending cultivation, provided for themſelves by a more compendious method, and ſought better fortune in other countries. They did not indeed go away in collective bodies, but withdrew inviſibly, a few at a time; but the whole number of fugitives was not leſs, and the difference between other times and this, is only the ſame as between evaporation and effuſion.

This is plauſible, but I am afraid it is not true. Thoſe who went before, if they were not ſenſibly miſſed, as the argument ſuppoſes, muſt have gone either in leſs number, or in a manner leſs detrimental, than at preſent; becauſe formerly there was no complaint. Thoſe who then left the country were generally the idle dependants on overburdened families, or men who had no property; and therefore carried away only themſelves. In the preſent eagerneſs of emigration, families, and almoſt communities, go away together. Thoſe who were conſidered as proſperous and wealthy, ſell their ſtock and carry away the money. Once none went away but the uſeleſs and poor; in ſome parts there is now reaſon to fear, that none will ſtay but thoſe who are too poor to remove themſelves, and too uſeleſs to be removed at the coſt of others.

Of antiquity there is not more knowledge in Col than in other places; but every where ſomething may be gleaned.

How ladies were portioned, when there was no money, it would be difficult for an Engliſhman to gueſs. In 1649, Maclean of Dronart in Mull, married his ſiſter Fingala to Maclean of Col, with a hundred and eighty kine; and ſtipulated, that if ſhe became a widow, her jointure ſhould be three hundred and ſixty. I ſuppoſe ſome proportionate tract of land was appropriated to their paſturage.

The diſpoſition to pompous and expenſive funerals, which has at one time or other prevailed in moſt parts of the civilized world, is not yet ſuppreſſed

preſſed in the Iſlands, though ſome of the ancient ſolemnities are worn away, and ſingers are no longer hired to attend the proceſſion. Nineteen years ago, at the burial of the Laird of Col, were killed thirty cows, and about fifty ſheep. The number of the cows is poſitively told, and we muſt ſuppoſe other victuals in like proportion.

Mr Maclean informed us of an odd game, of which he did not tell the original, but which may perhaps be uſed in other places, where the reaſon of it is not yet forgot. At New-year's eve, in the hall or caſtle of the Laird, where, at feſtal ſeaſons, there may be ſuppoſed a very numerous company, one man dreſſes himſelf in a cow's hide, upon which other men beat with ſticks. He runs with all this noiſe round the houſe, which all the company quits in a counterfeited fright: the door is then ſhut. At New-year's eve there is no great pleaſure to be had out of doors in the Hebrides. They are ſure ſoon to recover from their terror enough to ſolicit for re-admiſſion; which, for the honour of poetry, is not to be obtained but by repeating a verſe, with which thoſe that are knowing and provident take care to be furniſhed.

Very near the houſe of Maclean ſtands the caſtle of Col, which was the manſion of the Laird, till the houſe was built. It is built upon a rock, as Mr Boſwell remarked, that it might not be mined. It is very ſtrong, and having been not long uninhabited,

habited, is yet in repair. On the wall was, not long ago, a ſtone with an inſcription, importing, that “ if any man of the clan of Maclonich ſhall “ appear before this caſtle, though he come at mid- “ night, with a man's head in his hand, he ſhall “ there find ſafety and protection againſt all but “ the King.”

This is an old Highland treaty made upon a very memorable occaſion. Maclean, the ſon of John Gerves, who recovered Col, and conquered Barra, had obtained, it is ſaid, from James the Second, a grant of the lands of Lochiel, forfeited, I ſuppoſe, by ſome offence againſt the ſtate.

Forfeited eſtates were not in thoſe days quietly reſigned; Maclean, therefore, went with an armed force to ſeize his new poſſeſſions, and I know not for what reaſon, took his wife with him. The Camerons roſe in defence of their Chief, and a battle was fought at the head of Loch Neſs, near the place where Fort Auguſtus now ſtands, in which Lochiel obtained the victory, and Maclean, with his followers, was defeated and deſtroyed.

The lady fell into the hands of the conquerors, and being found pregnant, was placed in the cuſtody of Maclonich, one of a tribe or family branched from Cameron, with orders, if ſhe brought a boy, to deſtroy him, if a girl, to ſpare her.

Maclonich's wiſe, who was with child likewiſe, had a girl about the ſame time at which lady Maclean brought a boy, and Maclonich with more

nerosity

generoſity to his captive, than fidelity to his truſt, contrived that the children ſhould be changed.

Maclean being thus preſerved from death, in time recovered his original patrimony; and in gratitude to his friend, made his caſtle a place of refuge to any of the clan that ſhould think himſelf in danger; and as a proof of reciprocal confidence, Maclean took upon himſelf and his poſterity the care of educating the heir of Maclonich.

This ſtory, like all other traditions of the Highlands, is variouſly related; but though ſome circumſtances are uncertain, the principal fact is true. Maclean undoubtedly owed his preſervation to Maclonich; for the treaty between the two families has been ſtrictly obſerved: it did not ſink into diſuſe and oblivion, but continued in its full force while the chieftains retained their power. I have read a demand of protection, made not more than thirty-ſeven years ago, for one of the Maclonichs, named Ewen Cameron, who had been acceſſory to the death of Macmartin, and had been baniſhed by Lochiel, his lord, for a certain term; at the expiration of which he returned married from France, but the Macmartins, not ſatisfied with the puniſhment, when he attempted to ſettle, ſtill threatened him with vengeance. He therefore aſked, and obtained ſhelter in the Iſle of Col.

The power of protection ſubſiſts no longer, but what the law permits is yet continued, and Maclean of Col now educates the heir of Maclonich.

There ſtill remains in the iſlands, though it is paſſing faſt away, the cuſtom of foſterage. A Laird, a man of wealth and eminence, ſends his child, either male or female, to a tackſman, or tenant, to be foſtered. It is not always his own tenant, but ſome diſtant friend that obtains this honour; for an honour ſuch a truſt is reaſonably thought. The terms of foſterage ſeem to vary in different iſlands. In Mull the father ſends with his child a certain number of cows, to which the ſame number is added by the foſterer. The father appropriates a proportionable extent of ground, without rent, for their paſturage. If every cow brings a calf, half belongs to the foſterer, and half to the child; but if there be only one calf between two cows, it is the child's, and when the child returns to the parents, it is accompanied by all the cows given, both by the father and by the foſterer, with half of the increaſe of the ſtock by propagation. Theſe beaſts are conſidered as a portion, and called *Macalive* cattle, of which the father has the produce, but is ſuppoſed not to have the full property, but to owe the ſame number to the child, as a portion to the daughter, or a ſtock for the ſon.

Children continue with the foſterer perhaps ſix years, and cannot, where this is the practice, be conſidered as burdenſome. The foſterer, if he gives four cows, receives likewiſe four, and has, while the child continues with him, graſs for eight without rent, with half the calves, and all the milk, for which he pays only four cows when he diſmiſſes his Dalt, for that is the name for a foſter child.

Foſterage is, I believe, ſometimes performed upon more liberal terms. Our friend, the young Laird of Col, was foſtered by Macſweyn of Griſſipol. Macſweyn then lived a tenant to Sir James Macdonald in the Iſle of Sky; and therefore Col, whether he ſent him cattle or not, could grant him no land. The Dalt, however, at his return, brought back a conſiderable number of Macalive cattle, and of the friendſhip ſo formed there have been good effects. When Macdonald raiſed his rents, Macſweyn was, like other tenants, diſcontented, and, reſigning his farm, removed from Sky to Col, and was eſtabliſhed at Griſſipol.

Theſe obſervations we made by favour of the contrary wind that drove us to Col, an iſland not often viſited; for there is not much to amuſe curioſity, or to attract avarice.

The ground has been hitherto, I believe, uſed chiefly for paſturage. In a diſtrict, ſuch as the eye can command, there is a general herdſman, who knows all the cattle of the neighbourhood, and whoſe ſtation is upon a hill, from which he ſurveys the lower grounds; and if one man's cattle invade another's graſs, drives them back to their own borders. But other means of profit begin to be found; kelp is gathered and burnt, and ſloops are loaded with the concreted aſhes. Cultivation is likely to be improved by the ſkill and encouragement of the preſent heir, and the inhabitants of thoſe obſcure vallies will partake of the general progreſs of life.

The rents of the parts which belong to the Duke of Argyll, have been raiſed from fifty-five to one hundred and five pounds, whether from the land or the ſea I cannot tell. The bounties of the ſea have lately been ſo great, that a farm in South-uiſt has riſen in ten years from a rent of thirty pounds to one hundred and eighty.

He who lives in Col, and finds himſelf condemned to ſolitary meals, and incommunicable reflection, will find the uſefulneſs of that middle order of tackſmen, which ſome who applaud their own wiſdom are wiſhing to deſtroy. Without intelligence man is not ſocial, he is only gregarious; and little intelligence will there be, where all are conſtrained to daily labour, and every mind muſt wait upon the hand.

After having liſtened for ſome days to the tempeſt, and wandered about the iſland till our curioſity was ſatisfied, we began to think of our departure. To leave Col in October was not very eaſy. We however found a ſloop which lay on the coaſt to carry kelp; and for a price which we thought levied upon our neceſſities, the maſter agreed to carry us to Mull, whence we might readily paſs back to Scotland.

MULL.

As we were to catch the firſt favourable breath, we ſpent the night not very elegantly, nor pleaſantly in the veſſel, and were landed next day at Tabor Morar, a port in Mull, which appears to an unexperienced eye formed for the ſecurity of ſhips; for its mouth is cloſed by a ſmall iſland, which admits them through narrow channels into a baſon ſufficiently capacious. They are indeed ſafe from the ſea, but there is a hollow between the mountains through which the wind iſſues from the land with very miſchievous violence.

There was no danger while we were there, and we found ſeveral other veſſels at anchor; ſo that the port had a very commercial appearance.

The young Laird of Col, who had determined not to let us loſe his company, while there was any difficulty remaining, came over with us. His influence ſoon appeared; for he procured us horſes, and conducted us to the houſe of Doctor Maclean, where we found very kind entertainment, and very pleaſing converſation. Miſs Maclean, who was born, and had been bred at Glaſgow, having removed with her father to Mull, added to other qualifications, a great knowledge of the Earſe language, which ſhe had not learned in her childhood, but gained by ſtudy, and was the only interpreter of the Earſe poetry that I could ever find.

The Iſle of Mull is perhaps in extent the third of the Hebrides. It is not broken by waters, nor ſhot into promontories, but is a ſolid and compact maſs, of breadth nearly equal to its length. Of the dimenſions of the larger iſlands, there is no knowledge approaching to exactneſs. I am willing to eſtimate it as containing about three hundred ſquare miles.

Mull had ſuffered like Sky by the black winter of ſeventy-one, in which, contrary to all experience, a continued froſt detained the ſnow for eight weeks upon the ground. Againſt a calamity never known, no proviſion had been made, and the people could only pine in helpleſs miſery. One tenant was mentioned, whoſe cattle periſhed to the value of three hundred pounds; a loſs which probably more than the life of man is neceſſary to repair. In countries like theſe, the deſcriptions of famine become intelligible. Where by vigorous and artful cultivation of a ſoil naturally fertile, there is commonly a ſuperfluous growth both of grain and graſs; where the fields are crowded with cattle; and where every hand is able to attract wealth from a diſtance, by making ſomething that promotes eaſe, or gratifies vanity, a dear year produces

duces only a comparative want, which is rather ſeen than felt, and which terminates commonly in no worſe effect, than that of condemning the lower orders of the community to ſacrifice a little luxury to convenience, or at moſt, a little convenience to neceſſity.

But where the climate is unkind, and the ground penurious, ſo that the moſt fruitful years produce only enough to maintain themſelves; where life unimproved and unadorned, fades into ſomething little more than naked exiſtence, and every one is buſy for himſelf, without any arts by which the pleaſure of others may be increaſed; if to the daily burden of diſtreſs any additional weight be added, nothing remains but to deſpair and die. In Mull the diſappointment of a harveſt, or a murrain among the cattle, cuts off the regular proviſion; and they who have no manufactures can purchaſe no part of the ſuperfluities of other countries. The conſequence of a bad ſeaſon is here not ſcarcity, but emptineſs; and they whoſe plenty was barely a ſupply of natural and preſent need, when that ſlender ſtock fails, muſt periſh with hunger.

All travel has its advantages. If the paſſenger viſits better countries, he may learn to improve his own, and if fortune carries him to worſe, he may learn to enjoy it.

Mr Boſwell's curioſity ſtrongly impelled him to ſurvey Iona, or Icolmkill, which was to the early ages the great ſchool of theology, and is ſuppoſed to have been the place of ſepulture for the ancient kings. I, though leſs eager, did not oppoſe him.

That we might perform this expedition, it was neceſſary to traverſe a great part of Mull. We paſſed a day at Dr Maclean's, and could have been well contented to ſtay longer. But Col provided us horſes, and we purſued our journey. This was a day of inconvenience, for the country is very rough, and my horſe was but little. We travelled many hours through a tract, black and barren, in which, however, there were the reliques of humanity; for we found a ruined chapel in our way.

It is natural, in traverſing this gloom of deſolation, to inquire, whether ſomething may not be done to give nature a more cheerful face, and whether thoſe hills and moors that afford heath cannot with a little care and labour bear ſomething better. The firſt thought that occurs, is to cover them with trees, for that in many of theſe naked regions trees will grow, is evident, becauſe ſtumps and roots are yet remaining; and the ſpeculatiſt haſtily proceeds to cenſure that negligence and lazineſs that has omitted for ſo long a time ſo eaſy an improvement.

To drop ſeeds into the ground, and attend their growth, requires little labour and no ſkill. He who remembers that all the woods by which the wants of man have been ſupplied from the deluge till now, were ſelf-ſown, will not eaſily be perſuaded to think all the art and preparation neceſſary, which the Georgick writers preſcribe to planters. Trees certainly have covered the earth with very little culture. They wave their tops among the rocks of Norway, and might thrive as well in the Highlands and Hebrides.

But there is a frightful interval between the ſeed and timber. He that calculates the growth of trees, has the unwelcome remembrance of the ſhortneſs of life driven hard upon him. He knows that he is doing what will never benefit himſelf; and when he rejoices to ſee the ſtem riſe, is diſpoſed to repine that another ſhall cut it down.

Plantation is naturally the employment of a mind unburdened with care, and vacant to futurity, ſaturated with preſent good, and at leiſure to derive gratification from the proſpect of poſterity. He that pines with hunger, is in little care how others ſhall be fed. The poor man is ſeldom ſtudious to make his grandſon rich. It may be ſoon diſcovered, why in a place, which hardly ſupplies the cravings of neceſſity, there has been little attention to the delights of fancy; and why diſtant convenience is unregarded, where the thoughts are turned with inceſſant ſolicitude upon every poſſibility of immediate advantage.

Neither is it quite ſo eaſy to raiſe large woods, as may be conceived. Trees intended to produce timber muſt be kept uſeleſs for a long time, incloſed ed at an expence from which many will be diſcouraged by the remoteneſs of the profit, and watched with that attention, which, in places where it is moſt needed, will neither be given nor bought. That it cannot be plowed is evident; and if cattle be ſuffered to graze upon it, they will devour the plants as faſt as they riſe. Even in coarſer countries, where herds and flocks are not fed, not only the deer and the wild goats will browſe upon them, but the hare and rabbit will nibble them. It is therefore reaſonable to believe, what I do not remember any naturaliſt to have remarked, that there was a time when the world was very thinly inhabited by beaſts, as well as men, and that the woods had leiſure to riſe high before animals had bred numbers ſufficient to intercept them.

Sir James Macdonald, in part of the waſtes of his territory, ſet or ſowed trees, to the number, as I have been told, of ſeveral millions, expecting, doubtleſs, that they would grow up into future navies and cities; but for want of incloſure, and of that care which is always neceſſary, and will hardly ever be taken, all his coſt and labour have been loſt, and the ground is likely to continue an uſeleſs heath.

Having not any experience of a journey in Mull, we had no doubt of reaching the ſea by day-light, and therefore had not left Dr Maclean's very early. We travelled diligently enough, but found the country, for road there was none, very difficult to paſs. We were always ſtruggling with ſome obſtruction or other, and our vexation was not balanced by any gratification of the eye or mind. We were now long enough acquainted with hills and heath to have loſt the emotion that they once raiſed, whether pleaſing or painful, and had our mind employed only on our own fatigue. We were however ſure, under Col's protection, of eſcaping all real evils. There was no houſe in Mull to which he could not introduce us. He had intended to lodge us, for that night, with a gentleman that lived upon the coaſt, but diſcovered on the way, that he then lay in bed without hope of life.

We reſolved not to embarraſs a family, in a time of ſo much ſorrow, if any other expedient could be found; and as the Iſland of Ulva was over-againſt us, it was determined that we ſhould paſs the ſtrait and have recourſe to the Laird, who, like the other gentlemen of the Iſlands, was known to Col. We expected to find a ferry-boat, but when at laſt we came to the water, the boat was gone.

We were now again at a ſtop. It was the ſixteenth of October, at a time when it is not convenient to ſleep in the Hebrides without a cover, and there was no houſe within our reach, but that which we had already declined.

ULVA.

While we ſtood deliberating, we were happily eſpied from an Iriſh ſhip, that lay at anchor in the ſtrait. The maſter ſaw that we wanted a paſſage, and with great civility ſent us a boat, which quickly conveyed us to Ulva, where we were very liberally entertained by Mr Macquarry.

To Ulva we came in the dark, and left it before noon the next day. A very exact deſcription therefore will not be expected. We were told, that it is an Iſland of no great extent, rough and barren, inhabited by the Macquarrys; a clan not powerful nor numerous, but of antiquity, which moſt other families are content to reverence. The name is ſuppoſed to be a depravation of ſome other; for the Earſe language does not afford it any etymology. Macquarry is proprietor both of Ulva and ſome adjacent Iſlands, among which is Staffa, ſo lately raiſed to renown by Mr Banks.

When the Iſlanders were reproached with their ignorance, or inſenſibility of the wonders of Staffa, they had not much to reply. They had indeed conſidered it little, becauſe they had always ſeen it; and none but philoſophers, nor they always, are ſtruck with wonder, otherwiſe than by novelty. How would it ſurpriſe an unenlightened ploughman, to hear a company of ſober men, inquiring by what power the hand toſſes a ſtone, or why the ſtone, when it is toſſed, falls to the ground!

Of the anceſtors of Macquarry, who thus lies hid in his unfrequented Iſland, I have found memorials in all places where they could be expected.

Inquiring after the reliques of former manners, I found that in Ulva, and, I think, no where elſe, is continued the payment of the Mercheta Mulierum; a fine in old times due to the Laird at the marriage of a virgin. The original of this claim, as of our tenure of Borough Engliſh, is variouſly delivered. It is pleaſant to find ancient cuſtoms in old families. This payment, like others, was, for want of money, made anciently in the produce of the land. Macquarry was uſed to demand a ſheep, for which he now takes a crown, by that inattention to the uncertain proportion between the value and the denomination of money, which has brought much diſorder into Europe. A ſheep has always the ſame power of ſupplying human wants, but a crown will bring at one time more, at another leſs.

Ulva was not neglected by the piety of ancient times: it has ſtill to ſhow what was once a church.

INCH KENNETH.

In the morning we went again into the boat, and were landed on Inch Kenneth, an Iſland about a mile long, and perhaps half a mile broad, remarkable for pleaſantneſs and fertility. It is verdant and graſſy, and fit both for paſture and tillage; but it has no trees. Its only inhabitants were Sir Allan Maclean, and two young ladies, his daughters, with their ſervants.

Romance does not often exhibit a ſcene that ſtrikes the imagination more than this little deſert in theſe depths of Weſtern obſcurity, occupied not by a groſs herdſman, or amphibious fiſherman, but by a gentleman and two ladies, of high birth, poliſhed manners, and elegant converſation, who, in a habitation raiſed not very far above the ground, but furniſhed with unexpected neatneſs and convenience, practiſed all the kindneſs of hoſpitality, and refinement of courteſy.

Sir Allan is the Chieftain of the great clan of Maclean, which is ſaid to claim the ſecond place among the Highland families, yielding only to Macdonald. Though by the miſconduct of his anceſtors, moſt of the extenſive territory, which would have deſcended to him, has been alienated, he ſtill retains much of the dignity and authority of his birth. When ſoldiers were lately wanting for the American war, application was made to Sir Allan, and he nominated a hundred men for the ſervice, who obeyed the ſummons, and bore arms under his command.

He had then, for ſome time, reſided with the young ladies in Inch Kenneth, where he lives not only with plenty, but with elegance, having conveyed to his cottage a collection of books, and what elſe is neceſſary to make his hours pleaſant.

When we landed, we were met by Sir Allan and the ladies, accompanied by Miſs Macquarry, who had paſſed ſome time with them, and now returned to Ulva with her father.

We all walked together to the manſion, where we found one cottage for Sir Allan, and I think two more for the domeſtics and the offices. We entered, and wanted little that palaces afford. Our room was neatly floored, and well lighted; and our dinner, which was dreſſed in one of the huts, was plentiful and delicate.

In the afternoon Sir Allan reminded us, that the day was Sunday, which he never ſuffered to paſs without ſome religious diſtinction, and invited us to partake in his acts of domeſtic worſhip; which I hope neither Mr Boſwell nor myſelf will be ſuſpected of a diſpoſition to refuſe. The elder of the ladies read the Engliſh ſervice.

Inch Kenneth was once a ſeminary of eccleſiaſtics, ſubordinate, I ſuppoſe, to Icolmkill. Sir Allan had a mind to trace the foundation of the college, but neither I nor Mr Boſwell, who bends a keener eye on vacancy, were able to perceive them.

Our attention, however, was ſufficiently engaged by a venerable chapel, which ſtands yet entire, except that the roof is gone. It is about ſixty feet in length, and thirty in breadth. On one ſide of the altar is a bas relief of the bleſſed Virgin, and by it lies a little bell; which, though cracked, and without a clapper, has remained there for ages, guarded only by the venerableneſs of the place. The ground round the chapel is covered with grave-ſtones of Chiefs and ladies; and ſtill continues to be a place of ſepulture.

Inch Kenneth is a proper prelude to Icolmkill. It was not without ſome mournful emotion that we contemplated the ruins of religious ſtructures, and the monuments of the dead.

On the next day, we took a more diſtinct view of the place, and went with the boat to ſee oyſters in the bed, out of which the boat-men forced up as many as were wanted. Even Inch Kenneth has a ſubordinate Iſland, named Sandiland, I ſuppoſe, in contempt, where we landed, and found a rock, with a ſurface of perhaps four acres, of which one is naked ſtone, another ſpread with ſand and ſhells, ſome of which I picked up for their gloſſy beauty, and two covered with a little earth and graſs, on which Sir Allan has a few ſheep. I doubt not but when there was a college at Inch Kenneth, there was a hermitage upon Sandiland.

Having wandered over thoſe extenſive plains, we committed ourſelves again to the winds and waters; and after a voyage of about ten minutes, in which we met with nothing very obſervable, were again ſafe upon dry ground.

We told Sir Allan our deſire of viſiting Icolmkill, and entreated him to give us his protection, and his company. He thought proper to heſitate a little, but the ladies hinted, that as they knew he would not finally refuſe, he would do better if he preſerved the grace of ready compliance. He took their advice, and promiſed to carry us on the morrow in his boat.

We paſſed the remaining part of the day in ſuch amuſements as were in our power. Sir Allan related the American campaign, and at evening one of the ladies played on her harpſichord, while Col and Mr Boſwell danced a Scottiſh reel with the other.

We could have been eaſily perſuaded to a longer ſtay upon Inch Kenneth, but life will not be all paſſed in delight. The ſeſſion at Edinburgh was approaching, from which Mr Boſwell could not be abſent.

In the morning our boat was ready: it was high and ſtrong. Sir Allan victualled it for the day, and provided able rowers. We now parted from the young Laird of Col, who had treated us with ſo much kindneſs, and concluded his favours by conſigning us to Sir Allan. Here we had the laſt embrace of this amiable man, who, while theſe pages were preparing to atteſt his virtues, periſhed in the paſſage between Ulva and Inch Kenneth.

Sir Allan, to whom the whole region was well known, told us of a very remarkable cave, to which he would ſhow us the way. We had been diſappointed already by one cave, and were not much elevated by the expectation of another.

It was yet better to ſee it, and we ſtopped at ſome rocks on the coaſt of Mull. The mouth is fortified by vaſt fragments of ſtone, over which we made our way, neither very nimbly, nor very ſecurely. The place, however, well repaid our trouble. The bottom, as far as the flood ruſhes in, was encumbered with large pebbles, but as we advanced was ſpread over with ſmooth ſand. The breadth is about forty-five feet: the roof riſes in an arch, almoſt regular, to a height which we could not meaſure; but I think it about thirty feet.

This part of our curioſity was nearly fruſtrated; for though we went to ſee a cave, and knew that caves are dark, we forgot to carry tapers, and did not diſcover our omiſſion till we were awakened by our wants. Sir Allan then ſent one of the boatmen into the country, who ſoon returned with one little candle. We were thus enabled to go forward, but could not venture far. Having paſſed inward from the ſea to a great depth, we found on the right hand a narrow paſſage, perhaps not more than ſix feet wide, obſtructed by great ſtones, over which we climbed and came into a ſecond cave, in breadth twenty-five feet. The air in this apartment was very warm, but not oppreſſive, nor loaded with vapours. Our light ſhowed no tokens of a feculent or corrupted atmoſphere. Here was a ſquare ſtone, called, as we are told, Fingal's Table.

If we had been provided with torches, we ſhould have proceeded in our ſearch, though we had already gone as far as any former adventurer, except ſome who are reported never to have returned; and, meaſuring our way back, we found it more than a hundred and ſixty yards, the eleventh part of a mile.

Our meaſures were not critically exact, having been made with a walking pole, ſuch as it is convenient to carry in theſe rocky countries, of which I gueſſed the length by ſtanding againſt it. In this there could be no great error, nor do I much doubt but the Highlander, whom we employed, reported the number right. More nicety however is better, and no man ſhould travel unprovided with inſtruments for taking heights and diſtances.

There is yet another cauſe of error not always eaſily ſurmounted, though more dangerous to the veracity of itinerary narratives, than imperfect menſuration. An obſerver deeply impreſſed by any remarkable ſpectacle, does not ſuppoſe, that the traces will ſoon vaniſh from his mind, and having commonly no great convenience for writing, defers the deſcription to a time of more leiſure, and better accommodation.

He who has not made the experiment, or who is not accuſtomed to require rigorous accuracy from himſelf, will ſcarcely believe how much a few hours take from certainty of knowledge, and diſtinctneſs of imagery; how the ſucceſſion of objects will be broken, how ſeparate parts will be confuſed, and how many particular features and diſcriminations will be compreſſed and conglobated into one groſs and general idea.

To this dilatory notation muſt be imputed the falſe relations of travellers, where there is no imaginable motive to deceive. They truſted to memory, what cannot be truſted ſafely but to the eye, and told by gueſs what a few hours before they had known with certainty. Thus it was that Wheeler and Spen deſcribed with irreconcileable contrariety things which they ſurveyed together, and which both undoubtedly deſigned to ſhow as they ſaw them.

When we had ſatisfied our curioſity in the cave, ſo far as our penury of light permitted us, we clambered again to our boats, and proceeded along the coaſt of Mull to a headland, called Atun, remarkable for the columnar form of the rocks, which riſe in a ſeries of pilaſters, with a degree of regularity, which Sir Allan thinks not leſs worthy of curioſity than the ſhore of Staffa.

Not long after we came to another range of black rocks, which had the appearance of broken pilaſters, ſet one behind another to a great depth. This place was choſen by Sir Allan for our dinner. We were eaſily accommodated with ſeats, for the ſtones were of all heights, and refreſhed ourſelves and our boatmen, who could have no other reſt till we were at Icolmkill.

The evening was now approaching, and we were yet at a conſiderable diſtance from the end of our expedition. We could therefore ſtop no more to make remarks in the way, but ſet forward with ſome degree of eagerneſs. The day ſoon failed us, and the moon preſented a very ſolemn and pleaſing ſcene. The ſky was clear, ſo that the eye commanded a wide circle: the ſea was neither ſtill nor turbulent: the wind neither ſilent nor loud. We were never far from one coaſt or another, on which, if the weather had become violent, we could have found ſhelter, and therefore contemplated at eaſe the region through which we glided in the tranquillity of the night, and ſaw now a rock and now an iſland grow gradually conſpicuous and gradually obſcure. I committed the fault which I have juſt been cenſuring, in neglecting, as we paſſed, to note the ſeries of this placid navigation.

We were very near an Iſland, called *Nun's Iſland*, perhaps from an ancient convent. Here is ſaid to have been dug the ſtone that was uſed in the buildings of Icolmkill. Whether it is now inhabited we could not ſtay to inquire.

At laſt we came to Icolmkill, but found no convenience for landing. Our boat could not be forced very near the dry ground, and our Highlanders carried us over the water.

We were now treading that illuſtrious Iſland, which was once the luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence ſavage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge, and the bleſſings of religion. To abſtract the mind from all local emotion would be impoſſible, if it were endeavoured, and would be fooliſh, if it were poſſible. Whatever withdraws us from the power of our ſenſes; whatever makes the paſt, the diſtant, or the future predominate over the preſent, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings. Far from me and from my friends, be ſuch frigid philoſophy as may conduct us indifferent and unmoved over any ground which has been dignified by wiſdom, bravery, or virtue. That man is little to be envied, whoſe patriotiſm would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whoſe piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona!

We came too late to viſit monuments: ſome care was neceſſary for ourſelves. Whatever was in the Iſland, Sir Allan could command, for the inhabitants were Macleans; but having little they could not give us much. He went to the headman of the Iſland, whom Fame, but Fame delights in amplifying, repreſents as worth no leſs than fifty pounds. He was perhaps proud enough of his gueſts, but ill prepared for our entertainment; however, he ſoon produced more proviſion than men not luxurious require. Our lodging was next to be provided. We found a barn well ſtocked with hay, and made our beds as ſoft as we could.

In the morning we roſe and ſurveyed the place. The churches of the two convents are both ſtanding, though unroofed. They were built of unhewn ſtone, but ſolid, and not inelegant. I brought away rude meaſures of the buildings, ſuch as I cannot much truſt myſelf, inaccurately taken, and obſcurely noted. Mr. Pennant's delineations, which are doubtleſs exact, have made my unſkilful deſcription leſs neceſſary.

The epiſcopal church conſiſts of two parts, ſeparated by the belfry, and built at different times. The original church had, like others, the altar at one end, and tower at the other; but as it grew too ſmall, another building of equal dimenſion was added, and the tower then was neceſſarily in the middle.

That theſe edifices are of different ages is evident. The arch of the firſt church is Roman, being part of a circle; that of the additional building is pointed, and therefore Gothic, or Saracenical; the tower is firm, and wants only to be floored and covered.

Of the chambers or cells belonging to the monks, there are ſome walls remaining, but nothing approaching to a complete apartment.

The bottom of the church is ſo incumbered with mud and rubbiſh, that we could make no diſcoveries of curious inſcriptions, and what there are have been already publiſhed. The place is ſaid to be known where the black ſtones lie concealed, on which the old Highland chiefs, when they made contracts and alliances, uſed to take the oath, which was conſidered more ſacred than any other obligation, and which could not be violated without the blackeſt infamy. In thoſe days of violence and rapine, it was of great importance to impreſs upon ſavage minds the ſanctity of an oath, by ſome particular and extraordinary circumſtances. They would not have recourſe to the black ſtones, upon ſmall or common occaſions, and when they had eſtabliſhed their faith by this tremendous ſanction, inconſtancy and treachery were no longer feared.

The chapel of the nunnery is now uſed by the inhabitants as a general cow-houſe, and the bottom is conſequently too miry for examination. Some of the ſtones which covered the later abbeſſes have inſcriptions, which might yet be read, if the chapel were cleanſed. The roof of this, as of all the other buildings, is totally deſtroyed, not only becauſe timber quickly decays when it is neglected, but becauſe in an iſland utterly deſtitute of wood, it was wanted for uſe, and was conſequently the firſt plunder for needy rapacity.

The chancel of the nuns' chapel is covered with an arch of ſtone, to which time has done no injury; and a ſmall apartment, communicating with the choir, on the north ſide, like the chapter-houſe in cathedrals, roofed with ſtone in the ſame manner, is likewiſe entire.

In one of the churches was a marble altar, which the ſuperſtition of the inhabitants has deſtroyed. Their opinion was, that a fragment of this ſtone was a defence againſt ſhipwrecks, fire, and miſcarriages. In one corner of the church the baſon for holy water is yet unbroken.

The cemetery of the nunnery was, till very lately, [regarded with ſuch reverence, that only women were buried in it. Theſe reliques of veneration always produce ſome mournful pleaſure. I could have forgiven a great injury more eaſily than the violation of this imaginary ſanctity.

South of the chapel ſtand the walls of a large room, which was probably the hall, or refectory of the nunnery. This apartment is capable of repair. Of the reſt of the convent there are only fragments.

Beſides the two principal churches, there are, I think, five chapels yet ſtanding, and three more remembered. There are alſo croſſes, of which two bear the names of St John and St Matthew.

A large ſpace of ground about theſe conſecrated edifices is covered with grave-ſtones, few of which have any inſcription. He that ſurveys it, attended by an inſular antiquary, may be told where the kings of many nations are buried; and if he loves to ſoothe his imagination with the thoughts that naturally riſe in places where the great and the powerful lie mingled with the duſt, let him liſten in ſubmiſſive ſilence; for if he aſks any queſtions, his delight is at an end.

Iona has long enjoyed, without any very credible atteſtation, the honour of being reputed the cemetery of the Scottiſh kings. It is not unlikely, that, when the opinion of local ſanctity was prevalent, the chieftains of the Iſles, and perhaps ſome of the Norwegian or Iriſh princes were repoſited in this venerable encloſure. But by whom the ſubterraneous vaults are peopled is now utterly unknown. The graves are very numerous, and ſome of them undoubtedly contain the remains of men, who did not expect to be ſo ſoon forgotten.

Not far from this awful ground, may be traced the garden of the monaſtery: the fiſh-ponds are yet diſcernible, and the aqueduct, which ſupplied them, is ſtill in uſe.

There remains a broken building, which is called the Biſhop's houſe, I know not by what authority. It was once the reſidence of ſome man above the common rank, for it has two ſtories and a chimney. We were ſhewn a chimney at the other end, which was only a nich, without perforation, but ſo much does antiquarian credulity, or patriotic vanity prevail, that it was not much more ſafe to truſt the eye of our inſtructor than the memory.

There is in the Iſland one houſe more, and only one, that has a chimney: we entered it, and found it neither wanting repair nor inhabitants; but to the farmers, who now poſſeſs it, the chimney is of no great value; for their fire was made on the floor, in the middle of the room, and notwithſtanding the dignity of their manſion, they rejoiced, like their neighbours, in the comforts of ſmoke.

It is obſerved, that eccleſiaſtical colleges are always in the moſt pleaſant and fruitful places. While the world allowed the monks their choice, it is ſurely no diſhonour that they choſe well. This iſland is remarkably fruitful. The village near the churches is ſaid to contain ſeventy families, which, at five in a family, is more than a hundred inhabitants to a mile. There are perhaps other villages; yet both corn and cattle are annually exported.

But the fruitfulneſs of Iona is now its whole proſperity. The inhabitants are remarkably groſs, and remarkably neglected: I know not if they are viſited by any miniſter. The iſland, which was once the metropolis of learning and piety, has now no ſchool for education, nor temple for worſhip; only two inhabitants that can ſpeak Engliſh, and not one that can write or read.

The people are of the clan of Maclean; and though Sir Allan had not been in the place for many years, he was received with all the reverence due to their chieftain. One of them being ſharply reprehended by him, for not ſending him ſome rum, declared after his departure, in Mr Boſwell's preſence, that he had no deſign of diſappointing him; for ſaid he, "I would cut my bones for him;

" and if he had ſent his dog for it, he ſhould have " had it."

When we were to depart, our boat was left by the ebb at a great diſtance from the water, but no ſooner did we wiſh it afloat, than the iſlanders gathered round it, and, by the union of many hands, puſhed it down the beach; every man who could contribute his help ſeemed to think himſelf happy in the opportunity of being, for a moment, uſeful to his chief.

We now left thoſe illuſtrious ruins, by which Mr Boſwell was much affected, nor would I willingly be thought to have looked upon them without ſome emotion. Perhaps, in the revolutions of the world, Iona may be ſometime again the inſtructreſs of the Weſtern regions.

It was no long voyage to Mull, where, under Sir Allan's protection, we landed in the evening, and were entertained for the night by Mr Maclean, a miniſter that lives upon the coaſt, whoſe elegance of converſation, and ſtrength of judgement, would make him conſpicuous in places of greater celebrity. Next day we dined with Dr Maclean, another phyſician, and then travelled on to the houſe of a very powerful Laird, Maclean of Lochbuy; for in this country every man's name is Maclean.

Where races are thus numerous, and thus combined, none but the chief of a clan is addreſſed by his name. The Laird of Dunvegan is called Macleod, but other gentlemen of the ſame family are denominated by the places where they reſide, as Raaſa, or Taliſker. The diſtinction of the meaner people is made by their chriſtian names. In conſequence of this practice, the late Laird of Macfarlane, an eminent genealogiſt, conſidered himſelf as diſreſpectfully treated, if the common addition was applied to him. Mr Macfarlane, ſaid he, may with equal propriety be ſaid to many; but I, and I only, am Macfarlane.

Our afternoon journey was through a country of ſuch gloomy deſolation, that Mr Boſwell thought no part of the Highlands equally terrifick, yet we came without any difficulty, at evening, to Lochbuy, where we found a true Highland Laird, rough and haughty, and tenacious of his dignity; who, hearing my name, inquired whether I was of the Johnſtons of Glencoe, or of Ardnamurchan.

Lochbuy has, like the other inſular chieftains, quitted the caſtle that ſheltered his anceſtors, and lives near it, in a manſion not very ſpacious or ſplendid. I have ſeen no houſes in the iſlands much to be envied for convenience or magnificence, yet they bear teſtimony to the progreſs of arts and civility, as they ſhew that rapine and ſurpriſe are no longer dreaded, and are much more commodious than the ancient fortreſſes.

The caſtles of the Hebrides, many of which are ſtanding, and many ruined, were always built upon points of land, on the margin of the ſea. For the choice of this ſituation there muſt have been ſome general reaſon, which the change of manners has left in obſcurity. They were of no uſe in the days of piracy, as defences of the coaſt; for it was equally acceſſible in other places. Had they been ſea-marks or light-houſes, they would have been of more uſe to the invader than the natives, who could want no ſuch directions on their own waters: for a watch-tower, a cottage on a hill would have been better, as it would have commanded a wider view.

If they be conſidered merely as places of retreat, the ſituation ſeems not well choſen; for the Laird of an iſland is ſafeſt from foreign enemies in the center: on the coaſt he might be more ſuddenly ſurpriſed than in the inland parts; and the invaders, if their enterpriſe miſcarried, might more eaſily retreat. Some convenience, however, whatever it was, their poſition on the ſhore afforded; for uniformity of practice ſeldom continues long without good reaſon.

A caſtle in the iſlands is only a ſingle tower of three or four ſtories, of which the walls are ſometimes eight or nine feet thick, with narrow windows, and cloſe winding ſtairs of ſtone. The top riſes in a cone, or pyramid of ſtone, encompaſſed by battlements. The intermediate floors are ſometimes frames of timber, as in common houſes, and ſometimes arches of ſtone, or alternately ſtone and timber; ſo that there was very little danger from fire. In the center of every floor, from top to bottom, is the chief room, of no great extent, round which there are narrow cavities, or receſſes, formed by ſmall vacuities, or by a double wall. I know not whether there be ever more than one fire-place. They had not capacity to contain many people, or much proviſion; but their enemies could ſeldom blockade them; for if they failed in the firſt attack, their next care was to eſcape.

The walls were always too ſtrong to be ſhaken by ſuch deſultory hoſtilities; the windows were too narrow to be entered, and the battlements too high to be ſcaled. The only danger was at the gates, over which the wall was built with a ſquare cavity, not unlike a chimney, continued to the top. Through this hollow the defendants let fall ſtones upon thoſe who attempted to break the gate, and poured down water, perhaps ſcalding water, if the attack was made with fire. The caſtle of Lochbuy was ſecured by double doors, of which the outer was an iron grate.

In every caſtle is a well and a dungeon. The dungeon is a deep ſubterraneous cavity, walled on the ſides, and arched on the top, into which the deſcent is through a narrow door, by a ladder or a rope, ſo that it ſeems impoſſible to eſcape, when the rope or ladder is drawn up. The dungeon was, I ſuppoſe, in war, a priſon for ſuch captives as were treated with ſeverity, and, in peace, for ſuch delinquents as had committed crimes within the Laird's juriſdiction; for the manſions of many Lairds were, till the late privation of their privileges, the halls of juſtice to their own tenants.

As theſe fortifications were the productions of mere neceſſity, they are built only for ſafety, with little regard to convenience, and with none to elegance or pleaſure. It was ſufficient for a Laird of the Hebrides, if he had a ſtrong houſe, in which he could hide his wife and children from the next clan. That they are not large nor ſplendid is no wonder. It is not eaſy to find how they were raiſed, ſuch as they are, by men who had no money, in countries where the labourers and artificers could ſcarcely be fed. The buildings in different parts of the iſlands ſhew their degrees of wealth and power. I believe that for all the caſtles which I have ſeen beyond the Tweed, the ruins yet remaining of ſome one of thoſe which the Engliſh built in Wales, would ſupply materials.

Theſe caſtles afford another evidence that the fictions of romantic chivalry had for their baſis the real manners of the feudal times, when every Lord of a ſeignory lived in his hold, lawleſs and unaccountable, with all the licentiouſneſs and inſolence of unconteſted ſuperiority and unprincipled power. The traveller, whoever he might be, coming to the fortified habitation of a Chieftain, would, probably, have been interrogated from the battlements, admitted with caution to the gate, introduced to a petty Monarch, fierce with habitual hoſtility, and vigilant with ignorant ſuſpicion; who, according to his general temper, or accidental humour, would have ſeated a ſtranger as his gueſt at the table, or as a ſpy confined him in the dungeon.

Lochbuy means the Yellow Lake, which is the name given to an inlet of the ſea, upon which the caſtle of Mr Maclean ſtands. The reaſon of the appellation we did not learn.

We were now to leave the Hebrides, where we had ſpent ſome weeks with ſufficient amuſement, and where we had amplified our thoughts with new ſcenes of nature, and new modes of life. More time would have given us a more diſtinct view, but it was neceſſary that Mr Boſwell ſhould return before the courts of juſtice were opened; and it was not proper to live too long upon hoſpitality, however liberally imparted.

Of theſe iſlands it muſt be confeſſed, that they have not many allurements, but to the mere lover of naked nature. The inhabitants are thin, proviſions are ſcarce, and deſolation and penury give little pleaſure.

The people collectively conſidered are not few, though their numbers are ſmall in proportion to the ſpace which they occupy. Mull is ſaid to contain ſix thouſand, and Sky fifteen thouſand. Of the computation reſpecting Mull, I can give no account; but when I doubted the truth of the numbers attributed to Sky, one of the miniſters exhibited ſuch facts as conquered my incredulity.

Of the proportion, which the product of any region bears to the people, an eſtimate is commonly made according to the pecuniary price of the neceſſaries of life; a principle of judgment which is never certain, becauſe it ſuppoſes what is far from truth, that the value of money is always the ſame, and ſo meaſures an unknown quantity by an uncertain ſtandard. It is competent enough when the markets of the ſame country, at different times, and thoſe times not too diſtant, are to be compared; but of very little uſe for the purpoſe of making one nation acquainted with the ſtate of another. Proviſions, though plentiful, are ſold in places of great pecuniary opulence for nominal prices, to which, however ſcarce, where gold and ſilver are yet ſcarcer, they can never be raiſed.

In the Weſtern Iſlands there is ſo little internal commerce, that hardly any thing has a known or ſettled rate. The price of things brought in, or carried out, is to be conſidered as that of a foreign market; and even this there is ſome difficulty in diſcovering, becauſe their denominations of quantity are different from ours; and when there is ignorance on both ſides, no appeal can be made to a common meaſure.

This, however, is not the only impediment. The Scots, with a vigilance of jealouſy which never goes to ſleep, always ſuſpect that an Engliſhman deſpiſes them for their poverty, and to convince him that they are not leſs rich than their neighbours, are ſure to tell him a price higher than the true. When Leſley, two hundred years ago, related ſo punctiliouſly, that a hundred hen eggs, new laid, were ſold in the Iſlands for a penny, he ſuppoſed that no inference could poſſibly follow, but that eggs were in great abundance. Poſterity has ſince grown wiſer; and having learned, that nominal and real value may differ, they now tell no ſuch ſtories, leſt the foreigner ſhould happen to collect, not that eggs are many, but that pence are few.

Money and wealth have by the uſe of commercial language been ſo long confounded, that they are commonly ſuppoſed to be the ſame; and this prejudice has ſpread ſo widely in Scotland, that I know not whether I found man or woman, whom I interrogated concerning payments of money, that could ſurmount the illiberal deſire of deceiving me, by repreſenting every thing as dearer than it is.

From Lochbuy we rode a very few miles to the ſide of Mull, which faces Scotland, where, having taken leave of our kind protector, Sir Allan, we embarked in a boat, in which the ſeat provided for our accommodation was a heap of rough bruſhwood; and on the twenty-ſecond of October repoſed at a tolerable inn on the main land.

On the next day we began our journey ſouthwards. The weather was tempeſtuous. For half the day the ground was rough, and our horſes were ſtill ſmall. Had they required much reſtraint, we might have been reduced to difficulties; for I think we had amongſt us but one bridle. We fed the poor animals liberally, and they performed their journey well. In the latter part of the day, we came to a firm and ſmooth road, made by the ſoldiers, on which we travelled with great ſecurity, buſied with contemplating the ſcene about us. The night came on while we had yet a great part of the way to go, though not ſo dark, but that we could diſcern the cataracts which poured down the hills, on one ſide, and fell into one general channel that ran with great violence on the other. The wind was loud, the rain was heavy, and the whiſtling of the blaſt, the fall of the ſhower, the ruſh of the cataracts, and the roar of the torrent, made a nobler chorus of the rough muſic of nature than it had ever been my chance to hear before. The ſtreams, which ran acroſs the way from the hills to the main current, were ſo frequent, that after a while I began to count them; and, in ten miles, reckoned fifty-five, probably miſſing ſome, and having let ſome paſs before they forced themſelves upon my notice. At laſt we came to Inverary, where we found an inn, not only commodious, but magnificent.

The difficulties of peregrination were now at an end. Mr Boſwell had the honour of being known to the Duke of Argyle, by whom we were very kindly entertained at his ſplendid ſeat, and ſupplied with conveniences for ſurveying his ſpacious park and riſing foreſts.

After two days ſtay at Inverary we proceeded Southward over Glencroe, a black and dreary region, now made eaſily paſſable by a military road, which riſes from either end of the glen by an acclivity not dangerouſly ſteep, but ſufficiently laborious. In the middle, at the top of the hill, is a ſeat with this inſcription, "Reſt, and be thankfull." Stones were placed to mark the diſtances, which the inhabitants have taken away, reſolved, they ſaid, "to have no new miles."

In this rainy ſeaſon the hills ſtreamed with waterfalls, which, croſſing the way, formed currents on the other ſide, that ran in contrary directions as they fell to the north or ſouth of the ſummit. Being, by the favour of the Duke, well mounted, I went up and down the hill with great convenience.

From Glencroe we paſſed through a pleaſant country to the banks of Loch Lomond, and were received at the houſe of Sir James Colquhoun, who is owner of almoſt all the thirty iſlands of the Loch, which we went in a boat next morning to ſurvey. The heavineſs of the rain ſhortened our voyage, but we landed on one iſland planted with yew, and ſtocked with deer, and on another containing perhaps not more than half an acre, remarkable for the ruins of an old caſtle, on which the oſprey builds her annual neſt. Had Loch Lomond been in a happier climate, it would have been the boaſt of wealth and vanity to own one of the little ſpots which it incloſes, and to have employed upon it all the arts of embelliſhment. But as it is, the iſlets, which court the gazer at a diſtance, diſguſt him at his approach, when he finds, inſtead of ſoft lawns and ſhady thickets, nothing more than uncultivated ruggedneſs.

Where the loch diſcharges itſelf into a river, called the Leven, we paſſed a night with Mr Smollet, a relation of Doctor Smollet, to whoſe memory he has raiſed an obeliſk on the bank near the houſe in which he was born. The civility and reſpect which we found at every place, it is ungrateful to omit, and tedious to repeat. Here we were met by a poſt-chaiſe, that conveyed us to Glaſgow.

To deſcribe a city ſo much frequented as Glaſgow, is unneceſſary. The proſperity of its commerce appears by the greatneſs of many private houſes, and a general appearance of wealth. It is the only epiſcopal city whoſe cathedral was left ſtanding in the rage of Reformation. It is now divided into many ſeparate places of worſhip, which, taken all together, compoſe a great pile, that had been ſome centuries in building, but was never finiſhed; for the change of religion intercepted its progreſs, before the croſs iſle was added, which ſeems eſſential to a Gothic cathedral.

The college has not had a ſufficient ſhare of the increaſing magnificence of the place. The ſeſſion was begun; for it commences on the tenth of October, and continues to the tenth of June, but the ſtudents appeared not numerous, being, I ſuppoſe, not yet returned from their ſeveral homes. The diviſion of the academical year into one ſeſſion, and one receſs, ſeems to me better accommodated to the preſent ſtate of life, than that variegation of time by terms and vacations derived from diſtant centuries, in which it was probably convenient, and ſtill continued in the Engliſh Univerſities. So many ſolid months as the Scotch ſcheme of education joins together, allow and encourage a plan for each part of the year; but with us, he that has ſettled himſelf to ſtudy in the college is ſoon tempted into the country, and he that has adjuſted his life in the country, is ſummoned back to his college.

Yet when I have allowed to the Univerſities of Scotland a more rational diſtribution of time, I have given them, ſo far as my enquiries have informed me, all that they can claim. The ſtudents, for the moſt part, go thither boys, and depart before they are men; they carry with them little fundamental knowledge, and therefore the ſuperſtructure cannot be lofty. The grammar ſchools are not generally well ſupplied; for the character of a ſchoolmaſter being there leſs honourable than in England, is ſeldom accepted by men who are capable to adorn it; and where the ſchool has been deficient, the college can effect little.

Men bred in the Univerſities of Scotland cannot be expected to be often decorated with the ſplendours of ornamental erudition, but they obtain a mediocrity of knowledge, between learning and ignorance, not inadequate to the purpoſes of common life, which is, I believe, very widely diffuſed among them, and which countenanced in general by a national combination ſo invidious, that their friends cannot defend it, and actuated in particulars by a ſpirit of enterpriſe, ſo vigorous, that their enemies are conſtrained to praiſe it, enables them to find, or to make their way to employment, riches, and diſtinction.

From Glaſgow we directed our courſe to Auchinleck, an eſtate devolved, through a long ſeries of anceſtors, to Mr Boſwell's father, the preſent poſſeſſor. In our way we found ſeveral places remarkable enough in themſelves, but already deſcribed by thoſe who viewed them at more leiſure, or with much more ſkill; and ſtopped two days at Mr Campbell's, a gentleman married to Mr Boſwell's ſiſter.

Auchinleck, which ſignifies a ſtony field, ſeems not now to have any particular claim to its denomination. It is a diſtrict generally level, and ſufficiently fertile, but like all the Weſtern ſide of Scotland, incommoded by very frequent rain. It was, with the reſt of the country, generally naked, till the preſent poſſeſſor finding, by the growth of ſome ſtately trees near his old caſtle, that the ground was favourable enough to timber, adorned it very diligently with annual plantations.

Lord Auchinleck, who is one of the Judges of Scotland, and therefore not wholly at leiſure for domeſtic buſineſs or pleaſure, has yet found time to make improvements in his patrimony. He has built a houſe of hewn ſtone, very ſtately, and durable, and has advanced the value of his lands with great tenderneſs to his tenants.

I was, however, leſs delighted with the elegance of the modern manſion, than with the ſullen dignity of the old caſtle. I clambered with Mr Boſwell among the ruins, which afford ſtriking images of ancient life. It is, like other caſtles, built upon a point of rock, and was, I believe, anciently ſurrounded with a moat. There is another rock near it, to which the drawbridge, when it was let down, is ſaid to have reached. Here, in the ages of tumult and rapine, the Laird was ſurpriſed and killed by the neighbouring Chief, who perhaps might have extinguiſhed the family, had he not in a few days been ſeized and hanged, together with his ſons, by Douglas, who came with his forces to the relief of Auchinleck.

At no great diſtance from the houſe runs a pleaſing brook, by a red rock, out of which has been hewn a very agreeable and commodious ſummer-houſe, at leſs expence, as Lord Auchinleck told me, than would have been required to build a room of the ſame dimenſions. The rock ſeems to have no more dampneſs than any other wall. Such opportunities of variety it is judicious not to neglect.

We now returned to Edinburgh, where I paſſed ſome days with men of learning, whoſe names want no advancement from my commemoration, or with women of elegance, which perhaps diſclaims a pedant's praiſe.

The converſation of the Scots grows every day leſs unpleaſing to the Engliſh; their peculiarities wear faſt away; their dialect is likely to become in half a century provincial and ruſtic, even to themſelves. The great, the learned, the ambitious, and the vain, all cultivate the Engliſh phraſe, and the Engliſh pronunciation, and in ſplendid companies Scotch is not much heard, except now and then from an old lady.

There is one ſubject of philoſophical curioſity to be found in Edinburgh, which no other city has to ſhew; a college of the deaf and dumb, who are taught to ſpeak, to read, to write, and to practice arithmetic, by a gentleman, whoſe name is Braidwood. The number which attends him is, I think, about twelve, which he brings together into a little ſchool, and inſtructs according to their ſeveral degrees of proficiency.

I do not mean to mention the inſtruction of the deaf as new. Having been firſt practiſed upon the ſon of a conſtable of Spain, it was afterwards cultivated with much emulation in England, by Wallis and Holder, and was lately profeſſed by Mr Baker, who once flattered me with hopes of ſeeing his method publiſhed. How far any former teachers have ſucceeded it is not eaſy to know: the improvement of Mr Braidwood's pupils is wonderful. They not only ſpeak, write, and underſtand what is written, but if he that ſpeaks looks toward them, and modifies his organs by diſtinct and full utterance, they know ſo well what is ſpoken, that it is an expreſſion only figurative to ſay, they hear with the eye. That any have attained to the power mentioned by Burnet, of feeling ſounds, by laying a hand on the ſpeaker's mouth, I know not; but I have ſeen ſo much, that I can believe more; a ſingle word, or a ſhort ſentence, I think may poſſibly be ſo diſtinguiſhed.

It will readily be ſuppoſed by thoſe that conſider this ſubject, that Mr Braidwood's ſcholars ſpell accurately. Orthography is vitiated among ſuch as learn firſt to ſpeak, and then to write, by imperfect notions of the relation between letters and vocal utterance; but to thoſe ſtudents every character is of equal importance; for letters are to them not ſymbols of names, but of things; when they write they do not repreſent a ſound, but delineate a form.

This ſchool I viſited, and found ſome of the ſcholars waiting for their maſter, whom they are ſaid to receive at his entrance with ſmiling countenances and ſparkling eyes, delighted with the hope of new ideas. One of the young ladies had her ſlate before her, on which I wrote a queſtion conſiſting of three figures, to be multiplied by two figures. She looked upon it, and quivering her fingers in a manner which I thought very pretty, but of which I know not whether it was art or play, multiplied the ſum regularly in two lines, obſerving the decimal place; but did not add the two lines together, probably diſdaining ſo eaſy an operation. I pointed at the place where the ſum total ſhould ſtand, and ſhe noted it with ſuch expedition as ſeemed to ſhew that ſhe had it only to write.

It was pleaſing to ſee one of the moſt deſperate of human calamities capable of ſo much help: whatever enlarges hope, will exalt courage; after having ſeen the deaf taught arithmetick, who would be afraid to cultivate the Hebrides?

Such are the things which this journey has given me an opportunity of ſeeing, and ſuch are the reflections which that ſight has raiſed. Having paſſed my time almoſt wholly in cities, I may have been ſurpriſed by modes of life and appearances of nature, that are familiar to men of wider ſurvey and more varied converſation. Novelty and ignorance muſt always be reciprocal, and I cannot but be conſcious that my thoughts on national manners, are the thoughts of one who has ſeen but little.

FINIS.